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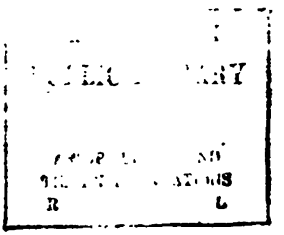

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Cardinal Chigi, making the Pope's concessions to Lewis XIV.

THE

WORKS

OF

M. DE VOLTAIRE.

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WITH

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T. FRANCKLIN, M. A. and OTHERS.

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Lewis XIV. governs alone. He obliges the Spaniſh branch of the houſe of Auſtria to yield him the precedency every where, and the court of Rome to give him ſatisfaction. He purchaſes Dunkirk, ſends ſuccours to the emperor, the Dutch, and the Portugueſe, and renders his kingdom powerful and flouriſhing 263

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CHAP. CLII.

Of ENGLAND, under CHARLES II.

THE ſecond protector, Richard Cromwell, not having the talents of the firſt, could not have the ſame fortune. His ſceptre was not ſupported by the ſword; and as he wanted the reſolution and diſſimulation of Oliver, he knew not either how to make himſelf feared by the army, nor how to manage the different ſects and parties which divided the nation.

Richard, finding himſelf treated with contempt and even inſolence by his father's military council, thought to ſecure his authority by convoking a parliament, conſiſting of two houſes; one of which was formed by the principal officers, repreſenting the peers, and the other of deputies from the counties of England, Scotland, and Ireland, repreſenting the three kingdoms; but the leaders of the army ſoon obliged

him to diſſolve this parliament, and of their own authority reſtored that parliament which had brought king Charles I. to the ſcaffold, and which Oliver afterwards ſo diſgracefully diſmiſſed. This parliament, which was entirely independent as well as the army, would have neither king nor protector. At its firſt meeting, the general council of officers preſented an addreſs to this aſſembly of their own making, petitioning, that all cavaliers ſhould be for ever excluded from their employs, and that the office of protector might be taken from Richard Cromwell, whom they however treated with great marks of reſpect, requiring a penſion of twenty thouſand pounds ſterling to be ſettled upon him, and eight thouſand upon his mother; but the parliament only accommodated him with two thouſand pounds *, and ſent him an order to leave Whitehall in ſix days, which he obeyed without murmuring, and ever afterwards led a private life. At that time the names of peers and biſhops ſeemed wholly forgotten. Charles II. appeared abandoned by all the world, as well as Richard Cromwell; and it was thought by all the courts of Europe, that the Engliſh commonwealth was firmly eſtabliſhed. However, the regal dignity was at length reſtored by an officer of Cromwell's, called Monk, who commanded the army in Scotland, which had conquered that kingdom. The Engliſh parliament having formed a deſign to caſhier the officers of that army, Monk, being apprized of their intention, marched directly to

* This is a miſtake; they granted him twenty thouſand pounds to pay his debts.

Eng-

England, to try his fortune. The three kingdoms were at that time in a general ſtate of anarchy. Monk had left part of his army in Scotland, but this was not ſufficient to keep that nation in ſubjection. The other part, which marched under his commandin to England, had the parliament's forces to encounter. The parliament itſelf, who was equally apprehenſive of either army, endeavoured, if poſſible, to make itſelf maſter of both. Here was ſufficient cauſe for renewing all the horror of the civil wars.

Monk, finding himſelf not ſufficiently powerful to ſucceed to the protectorſhip, determined to reſtore the royal family; and inſtead of ſhedding blood, he found means to perplex affairs in ſuch a manner by his negotiations, and encreaſed the confuſion in the kingdom to ſuch a degree, that the nation of itſelf began to wiſh for a king. In a word, the reſtoration was effected without the leaſt bloodſhed. Lambert, one of Cromwell's generals, and a moſt zealous republican, in vain attempted to renew the war; he was prevented before he could aſſemble a ſufficient number of his veterans, and was defeated and taken priſoner by Monk. A new parliament was now called. The peers, who had ſo long remained an idle and uſeleſs body, now returned to their houſe, and reſumed their functions in the ſtate. Both houſes acknowledged Charles II. as their lawful ſovereign, and he was accordingly proclaimed king in London.

Charles II. thus invited over to England, without having in the leaſt contributed to this reſtoration by any means of his own, and without having been reſtricted by any conditions, departed from May 8, 1660

Breda, the place of his retirement, and arrived in England amidſt the ſhouts and acclamations of all the people; in a word, it hardly ſeemed that there had ever been a civil war.

The parliament ordered the bodies of Cromwell, Ireton his ſon-in-law, and Bradſhaw, preſident of the high court of juſtice, to be dug out of their graves, and dragged through the ſtreets upon a ſledge to the gallows. Of all thoſe concerned in the bloody trial of Charles I. who were yet living, ten only were executed, who all of them ſuffered without the leaſt ſigns of repentance, refuſing to acknowledge the king's authority, and returning God thanks, who had choſen them to die "For the moſt glorious and juſt of all cauſes." Theſe were moſt of them either of the obſtinate ſect of independents, or elſe Anabaptiſts, who looked for the ſecond coming of Chriſt, and the eſtabliſhment of the fifth monarchy.

There were only nine biſhops living at that time in England: the king ſoon completed the number. The ancient order and diſcipline was reſtored both in church and ſtate, and a round of magnificence and pleaſures ſucceeded the gloomy ferocity which had ſo long taken poſſeſſion of all minds. Charles introduced an exceſs of gallantry and diverſions into the palace, yet ſtained with the blood of his father. The independents were no longer heard of. The puritans hid themſelves. The ſpirit of the Engliſh nation underwent ſo total a change, that the late civil war became a ſubject of ridicule. The auſtere and gloomy ſectaries, who had filled the kingdom with their enthuſiaſtic notions, were now the butts of rail-

lery to the gay and licentious courtiers. Deiſm, which the king himſelf ſeemed openly to profeſs, became the reigning religion among the many others then in the kingdom.

The royal ſociety, which had been already formed, but was not eſtabliſhed by the king's letters patent till 1661, began to ſoften the manners, by improving the underſtanding. The belles lettres were revived, and made daily advances towards perfection. In Cromwell's time all the learning in the nation was confined to the application of a few paſſages of the Old and New Teſtaments, to feed the flame of public animoſities, and ſcreen the purpoſes of the blackeſt revolutions. But now the ſtudy of nature and her works was encouraged, and the plan of the famous chancellor Bacon cloſely purſued. The ſcience of mathematics was in a ſhort time carried to a degree of perfection, that had never entered into the imagination of former adepts. A great man at length inveſtigated the firſt principles of the general ſyſtem of the univerſe, which till then had remained hidden; and while the other nations amuſed themſelves with idle fables, the Engliſh found out the moſt ſublime truths. All that the enquiries of paſt ages had effected in natural philoſophy was nothing in compariſon with that one diſcovery of the nature of light. In the ſpace of twenty years, the arts and ſciences made the moſt amazing progreſs: this is a merit and a glory which will never paſs away. The fruits of genius and induſtry are permanent, while the effects of ambition, fanaticiſm, and reigning paſſions, are ſwallowed up in the times which produced them. The ſpirit of

the nation acquired immortal reputation under the reign of Charles II. though the adminiſtration did not.

The French ſpirit, which reigned at court, rendered it agreeable and brilliant; but by introducing a change in the manners, it ſubjected it to the deſigns of Lewis XIV. and the Engliſh government, which was wholly biaſſed by French money and French councils, made the thinking part of the people regret at times the days of the uſurper Cromwell, who had rendered his nation ſo reſpectable in the eyes of all Europe.

The parliaments of England and Scotland, after the king's reſtoration, vyed with each other in giving him all the marks of condeſcenſion in their power, by way of reparation for the murder of his father. The Engliſh parliament in particular, in whoſe breaſt it chiefly lay to make him a powerful prince, granted a revenue of twelve hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, for the ſupport of his dignity and adminiſtration; excluſive of the ſum deſtined for the ſupport of the navy, which far exceeded any thing that had been granted to queen Elizabeth. Nevertheleſs, Charles's prodigality made him always in want; and the nation never forgave him the ſale of Dunkirk, which Cromwell had acquired for the kingdom by his negotiations and arms, and which Charles parted with for the ſum of two hundred and forty thouſand pounds ſterling *.

* D'Eſtrades, the French miniſter at the Hague, came over to London, and managed this negociation. For Dunkirk, with all the artillery and ammunition in the place, the French king payed four hundred thouſand pounds.

The

The war which he engaged in againſt the Dutch at the beginning of his reign, proved not only very burthenſome, as it coſt the nation upwards of ſeven millions and an half ſterling, but it was likewiſe diſhonourable *; for admiral Ruyter ſailed up as far as Chatham, and burnt all the Engliſh ſhips lying in that harbour.

Theſe miſcarriages were intermixed with moſt terrible calamities. London was ravaged by a plague at the beginning of this reign, and the city almoſt entirely deſtroyed by a dreadful fire. This calamity following upon a plague, and in the height of an unſucceſsful war with the Dutch, ſeemed almoſt irreparable. Nevertheleſs, to the aſtoniſhment of all Europe, London was rebuilt in three years, and aroſe more beautiful, regular, and commodious, than it had been before. A tax upon coals, and the unwearied induſtry of the citizens, proved alone ſufficient to effect this immenſe work. This was a mighty example of what mankind are capable of doing, and gave a degree of authenticity to the reports of the ancient cities in Aſia and Egypt, which were ſo quickly rebuilt. 1666

Not all theſe accidents, theſe mighty labours, the war of 1672 againſt the Dutch, nor the cabals with which the court and parliament

* The war was by no means diſgraceful: for the Dutch were defeated in a great number of bloody engagements. The burning of a few ſhips in the river Medway was a reproach upon the adminiſtration, which, truſting to the negociation for peace, had taken no precautions of defence; but it was no diſgrace to the nation in general.

were filled, made any diminution in the pleaſures and gallantry, which Charles had brought with him into England, and which were the productions of the French climate, where he had reſided for ſeveral years. A French miſtreſs, French manners, and, above all, French money lorded it at court. Though all things underwent ſuch a change in England, the love of liberty did not change among the people, nor that paſſion for abſolute power which prevailed in the king and his brother, who ſucceeded him. This proved the ſource of numberleſs intrigues and plots, which embittered the general taſte for pleaſure, and clouded the feſtivities of the court with ſundry executions. Zeal for religion or enthuſiaſtic fury had no ſhare in the effort made by Lord Shaftſbury and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, to exclude the duke of York from the ſucceſſion. Lord Shaftſbury was a declared deiſt. The duke of York was charged with being a papiſt; but it was only the arbitrary papiſt they ſtood in fear of.

Charles II. ſeems to have been the firſt king of England who bought the votes of the members of parliament by private penſions, at leaſt in a country where there is hardly any thing ſecret. This method was never publicly carried on: we have no proof that any of the kings, his predeceſſors, had fallen on this way to ſhorten difficulties and prevent oppoſition.

The ſecond parliament, which aſſembled in 1679, began by impeaching eighteen members of the houſe of commons of the preceding parliament, which had ſate eighteen years. They were accuſed of having accepted penſions; but

as

as there was no law which prohibited the receiving of gratifications from the ſovereign, they could not do any thing againſt them.

This new ſyſtem of politics adopted by the court, did not prevent the houſe of commons from voting unanimouſly, that the duke of York, as being a profeſſed papiſt, ought to be excluded from the crown, in like manner as the catholic leaguers in France had pretended to exclude Henry IV. The duke of Monmouth, natural ſon to Charles II. attempted to play the ſame part as the duke of Guiſe, by which he afterwards brought his own head to the block; and the ſame motives which had engaged the Whigs to exclude the duke of York from the throne, urged them to drive him from thence, after he had aſcended it. However, Charles finding that that houſe which had depoſed and murdered his father, now wanted to diſinherit his brother in his life-time; and juſtly apprehenſive of the conſequences of ſuch a deſign in regard to himſelf, diſſolved the parliament, and never called another during his reign.

Every thing was reſtored to quiet the inſtant the royal authority and the privilege of parliament ceaſed to oppoſe each other. 1681

The king was now reduced to live with œconomy upon his revenue, and a penſion of one hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, which was paid him by Lewis XIV. He only kept four thouſand ſoldiers in pay, and he was reproached for keeping this ſmall guard as if it had been a powerful ſtanding army. Before him the kings of England were wont to have only one hundred men for their ordinary guard.

At that time there were only two oppoſite factions in the kingdom; that of the Tories, who profeſſed a blind ſubmiſſion to the royal authority, and the Whigs, who defended the rights of the people, and were for reſtricting the ſovereign power. The latter of theſe has almoſt always had the ſuperiority.

But what has eſtabliſhed the power of the Engliſh nation is, that all the different parties ſince the time of Elizabeth have unanimouſly concurred in encouraging trade. That very parliament which cut off the head of its king, was employed in ſettling maritime affairs, as if it had been a time of profound peace. The blood of this murdered prince was yet ſmoaking upon the ſcaffold, when this parliament, which was almoſt entirely compoſed of fanatics, paſſed the famous act of navigation in 1650, which has been falſely attributed to Cromwell, and in which he had no other concern than being highly diſpleaſed with it; becauſe this act, which was very prejudicial to the intereſt of Holland, proved one of the cauſes of the war between England and that republic; and as the operations of this war would be chiefly by ſea, the great expence of the navy might oblige the parliament to leſſen the army, of which Cromwell was general. This act has always continued in force. The chief advantage the nation derived from this act was, that it prohibited all nations to import any merchandize into England but what was the produce of the country to which the ſhips belonged.

As early as the reign of queen Elizabeth the Engliſh had an India company, prior to that of the Dutch, and there was alſo a new one eſta-

eſtabliſhed afterwards in king William's reign. From the year 1597 to 1612, the Engliſh had the ſole poſſeſſion of the whale fiſhery; but their greateſt riches lay in their flocks. At firſt they only knew how to ſell their wool; but ſince Elizabeth's time they have manufactured the fineſt cloths in Europe. Agriculture, which was for a long time neglected, is now better than the mines of Peru to them. The culture of lands was chiefly encouraged by the act of parliament in 1689, for the exportation of grain; and ſince that time the government has always allowed a bounty of five ſhillings for every meaſure of wheat exported to foreign markets, when ſuch meaſure, which contains twenty-four of our Paris buſhels, ſhall not be worth more than two livres eight ſous ſterling in London. The exportation of all other kinds of grain have been encouraged in like proportion; and not long ſince it was proved in parliament, that the exportation of grain brought the kingdom in four years time the ſum of one hundred and ſeventy millions three hundred and thirty thouſand French livres.

England had not all theſe great reſources in Charles IId's time: it was ſtill indebted to the induſtry of France, to whom it paid upwards of eight millions every year upon the balance of trade. The Engliſh had no manufactories for cloth, plate glaſs, copper, braſs, ſteel, paper, or even hats. It was to the revocation of the edict of Nantz that they were indebted for almoſt all theſe new and important branches of trade.

By this ſingle circumſtance we may judge how far the flatterers of Lewis XIV. were

in praiſing him for thus depriving France of ſo many uſeful ſubjects. Accordingly in 1687, the Engliſh government, ſenſible of the advantage it ſhould gain by granting an aſylum and ſupport to the French artificers, made a collection for them amounting to fifteen hundred thouſand francs, and maintained thirteen thouſand of theſe new ſubjects in the city of London for one whole year.

This attention to commerce in a warlike nation, has in the end enabled it to pay ſubſidies to one half of Europe againſt the French; and within our knowledge its credit has encreaſed to ſuch a degree without any augmentation in its funds, that the government debt to private perſons has ſome years amounted to upwards of ſeventy millions of our money. This is preciſely the ſituation of the kingdom of France at preſent, where the government owes nearly the ſame yearly ſum in the king's name to the annuitants and purchaſers of public employs. This expedient which is unknown to many other nations, eſpecially to the Aſiatics, is the melancholy fruits of our wars, and the laſt effort of political induſtry.

CHAP.

CHAP. CLIII.

Of ITALY, and chiefly of ROME, at the End of the ſixteenth Century. Of the Council of TRENT. Of the Correction of the Calendar, &c.

WHILE France and Germany, almoſt ſubverted at the end of the ſixteenth, and beginning of the ſeventeenth century, lay languiſhing without trade, deprived of arts and police, and plunged in anarchy; the Italians, in general, began to taſte the ſweets of repoſe, and vyed with each other in cultivating the liberal arts, which were either unknown to other nations, or practiſed by them in a rude manner. Naples and Sicily were free from revolutions, and wholly undiſturbed. When pope Paul IV. at the inſtigation of his nephews, undertook to deprive Philip II. of theſe two kingdoms, by the arms of the French king Henry II. he pretended to make them over to the duke of Anjou, afterwards Henry III. in conſideration of the payment of twenty thouſand gold ducats *per ann.* in room of the former annual tribute of ſix thouſand, and on the eſpecial condition that his nephew ſhould enjoy certain very conſiderable and independent principalities in thoſe kingdoms.

This was at that time the only tributary kingdom in the world. It was pretended that the court of Rome determined it ſhould be no longer ſo, and propoſed to annex it to the papal ſee, which would have given the popes ſuch a degree of weight and authority, as would have

have made them maſters of the balance of power in Italy: but it was impoſſible that pope Paul IV. or all Italy together, could take Naples from Philip II. and afterwards from the king of France, and thus ſtrip the two moſt powerful monarchs of Chriſtendom. This was only an unhappy raſh project in pope Paul, who was inſulted at his firſt ſetting out by the famous duke of Alva, at that time viceroy of Naples, who ordered all the bells and other braſs work in Benevento, which belonged to the holy ſee, to be melted down and caſt into cannon. This war was finiſhed almoſt as ſoon as it was begun. The duke of Alva flattered himſelf with the hope of taking Rome, as Charles V. had done; but at the end of a few months he went thither to kiſs the pontiff's feet, reſtored the bells of Benevento, and all was quiet.

1560 A ſhocking ſcene was exhibited after the death of pope Paul IV. by the condemnation of his two nephews, the prince of Palliano, and cardinal Caraffa; and the ſacred college could not, without horror, behold the death of this cardinal, who was ſtrangled by the orders of pope Pius IV. * as cardinal Poli had

* The two brothers, the cardinal and the duke de Palliano, were condemned and ſtrangled for having abuſed the authority of their uncle, and exerciſed all manner of acts of tyranny and oppreſſion; in particular for having cauſed the duke's wife Violante Dias Carlonna, to be put to death without form of trial, on pretence of adultery, when ſhe was big with child. She was barbarouſly ſtrangled by her own brother, the count d'Aliffe and Leonard Cardini, who likewiſe ſuffered death for their barbarity, under the pontificate of Pius IV.

been

been by thoſe of Leo X. but one act of cruelty does not make a cruel reign, and the Roman nation was not oppreſſed.

The council of Trent was cloſed under the pontificate of Pius IV. in a peaceable manner, without having produced any new effects either among the catholics, who held all the articles of faith taught by that council, nor among the proteſtants, who rejected them: it made no change in the cuſtoms of thoſe catholic nations who adopted certain rules of diſcipline different from thoſe of the council. France in particular retained what are called the liberties of the Gallican church, which are in effect the liberties of the nation. Twenty-four articles of this council, which were repugnant to the rights of the civil juriſdiction, were never admitted in that kingdom: by theſe articles the ſuperintendance of all hoſpitals was veſted in the biſhops only. The pope alone was to give ſentence in criminal cauſes on the biſhops, and the laity were in ſeveral caſes made ſubject to the epiſcopal juriſdiction. Theſe were the reaſons why the French government rejected the diſcipline eſtabliſhed by the council. The kings of Spain received it into their dominions with the greateſt reſpect, but at the ſame time with conſiderable private modifications. Venice followed the example of Spain. The Roman catholics of Germany inſiſted upon the uſe of the conſecrated cup, and that prieſts ſhould be allowed to marry. Pope Pius IV. by his briefs to the emperor Maximilian II. and the archbiſhop of Mentz allowed the communicating in both kinds; but remained inflexible in the article 1563

of

of the marriage of the prieſts. The hiſtory of the popes gives us for a reaſon, that Pius, having got rid of the council, had nothing more to fear: hence it came, adds the writer of this hiſtory, that this pope, who made no ſcruple of violating all laws divine and human, was ſo ſtrict with regard to celibacy. It is very falſe to ſay that Pius IV. violated all laws divine and human; and it is very evident that by preſerving the ancient diſcipline of ſacerdotal celibacy, which had been ſo long eſtabliſhed in the Weſt, he acted in conformity with an opinion which was become a law in that church.

All the other cuſtoms of church diſcipline peculiar to Germany remained on their original foundation. The diſputes prejudicial to the ſecular power no longer raiſed thoſe wars they had formerly done: there were ſtill ſome few difficulties, ſome intricate points between the church of Rome and the Roman catholic ſtates; but theſe little diſputes did not coſt any bloodſhed. The interdict which pope Paul V. laid upon the republic of Venice, was the only conſiderable quarrel which happened afterwards. The religious wars in France and Germany found them other employments; and the court of Rome uſually kept fair with the Roman catholic princes, for fear they ſhould turn proteſtants: but wretched was the fate of thoſe weak princes, who had ſuch a powerful monarch as Philip to oppoſe, who was maſter in the conclave.

Italy was deficient in reſpect to general police; this was its real ſcourge. Surrounded by the arts, and in the very boſom of peace, it had been a long time infeſted with public robbers,

like

like ancient Greece in the more barbarous times. Whole troops of armed banditti marauded from one province to another, from the frontiers of Milan to the farther end of the kingdom of Naples, either purchaſing the protection of the petty princes, or obliging them to wink at their rapines. The papal ſee could not clear its dominions of them, till the time of Sixtus V. and even after his pontificate they appeared ſometimes. The example of theſe freebooters encouraged private perſons to put in practice the ſhocking cuſtom of aſſaſſination: the uſe of the ſtiletto was but too common in towns, while the country was over-run by the banditti. The ſtudents of Padua uſed to knock people on the head as they were paſſing under the piazzas, which run along each ſide of the ſtreet.

Notwithſtanding theſe diſorders, which were but too common, Italy was the moſt flouriſhing country in Europe, if it was not the moſt powerful. Thoſe foreign wars were no longer heard of which had filled it with deſolation after the reign of Charles VIII. nor the inteſtine commotions which had armed principality againſt principality, and town againſt town: nor thoſe conſpiracies which had formerly been ſo frequent. Naples, Venice, Rome, and Florence, attracted the admiration of foreigners, by their magnificence and encouragement of all the arts. The more refined pleaſures were truly known only to this climate, and religion preſented itſelf to the people under that ſpecious dreſs which is ſo neceſſary for nice imaginations. Italy alone abounded with temples worthy of the ancient gran-

grandeur, and they were all ſurpaſſed by St. Peter's at Rome.

If ſuperſtitious ceremonies, falſe traditions, and feigned miracles ſtill prevailed among theſe people, the wiſe deſpiſed them, who well knew that errors have in all times been the amuſement of the vulgar. Perhaps our northern writers, who have exclaimed ſo violently againſt theſe erroneous cuſtoms, have not rightly diſtinguiſhed between the people and thoſe by whom they are led. Certainly no one would entertain a contemptible idea of the ancient Roman ſenate, becauſe the temples of Eſculapius were lined with the offerings of thoſe whom nature cured of their maladies; becauſe a thouſand votive tablets of travellers eſcaped from ſhipwreck, adorned or rather disfigured the altars of the God Neptune; and that in Egnatia the incenſe burnt and ſmoaked of its own accord on the holy ſtone. Many a proteſtant, after having taſted the delights of a reſidence at Naples, has, at his return, exhauſted himſelf in invectives againſt the three miracles which are performed on certain appointed days in that city, when the blood of St. Januarius, St. John the Baptiſt, and St Stephen, which is kept in bottles, liquefies on approaching the heads of theſe ſaints. They accuſe the chiefs of thoſe churches with aſcribing theſe idle miracles to the Deity. The wiſe and prudent Addiſon ſays, that he never ſaw "A more blundering trick." All theſe writers might have obſerved that theſe inſtitutions have no bad effects upon the morals of the people, which ought to be the principal concern of every government, civil and eccleſiaſtical; that in all pro-

probability the warm imaginations of the natives of thoſe hot climates ſtand in need of viſible ſigns to convince them that they are continually under the immediate hand of Providence; and laſtly, they ſhould conſider that theſe ſigns cannot be laid aſide till they are fallen into contempt with thoſe who now hold them in ſo much reverence.

To pope Pius IV. ſucceeded the Dominican Giſleri, who took the name of Pius V. and was ſo hated even in Rome itſelf for the rigorous manner in which he enforced the exerciſe of the inquiſitorial juriſdiction, which was in all other places ſo ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the ſecular courts. The famous bull in Cœnâ Domini, that firſt appeared under pope Paul III. and was afterwards publiſhed by this Pius V. and in which the prerogative of crowned heads was inſulted, diſguſted every court, and was much cenſured by the univerſities.

The extinction of the order of the Humiliati was one of the principal events of his pontificate. The monks of this order, which was chiefly eſtabliſhed in the dutchy of Milan, led very ſcandalous lives. St. Charles Borromeo, archbiſhop of Milan, endeavoured to work a reformation in them, upon which four of them entered into a conſpiracy againſt his life; one of them fired upon him with a muſket as he was at prayers in his own 1571
houſe, but wounded him only ſlightly. The good man interceded with the pope in their behalf; but his holineſs puniſhed their crime with death, and aboliſhed the whole order.

Pius V. immortalized his memory by his vigorous defence of Chriſtianity againſt the Turks.

Turks. His greateſt eulogium was made in Conſtantinople itſelf, where they ordered public rejoicings on account of his death *.

Gregory XIII. of the family of Buoncampagno, ſucceeded Pius V. and rendered his name famous to poſterity by the correction of the calendar, which is called after him; in which he imitated Julius Cæſar. The continual need there was of correcting the year in all nations ſhews the ſlow progreſs of the uſeful arts. Mankind had found the way to ravage the world from one end to the other, before they knew how to compute time or regulate their days. The ancient Romans had only ten lunar months at firſt, and their year conſiſted of no more than three hundred and four days, and afterwards of three hundred and fifty-five. The attempts to remedy this falſe computation were ſo many errors. All the high prieſts from the time of Numa Pompilius, were the aſtronomers of their nation, as they were likewiſe among the Babylonians, the Egyptians, the Perſians, and almoſt all the Aſiatics. Their knowledge of time rendered them more venerable to the people; for nothing gives a greater degree of authority than the knowledge of uſeful things, which are unknown to the vulgar.

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mathematician of Alexandria, which city had been made the centre of ſciences and commerce by Alexander the Great: it was the moſt famous ſchool for the mathematics in thoſe times; and thence the Egyptians, and even the Hebrews themſelves, had learnt great part of their uſeful knowledge. The Egyptians knew before how to raiſe enormous maſſes of ſtone; but the Greeks taught them all the polite arts, or rather practiſed them amongſt them without ever being able to form pupils. In fact, we do not find any one perſon of this ſlaviſh and effeminate nation diſtinguiſhed for the Grecian arts.

The chriſtian pontiffs had the regulating of the year as well as the pontiffs of ancient Rome becauſe it was their province to fix the time, for obſerving the feſtivals. The firſt council of Nice, held in the year 325, obſerving the confuſion introduced by time into the Julian calendar, conſulted, as Cæſar had done, the Greeks of Alexandria, who returned for anſwer, that the vernal or ſpring equinox happened in that year on the twenty-firſt day of March; the fathers then regulated the time for the celebrating the feaſt of Eaſter according to th[illegible]

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moſt imperceptible in one century, but which in a ſucceſſion of ages became very conſiderable. The ſame may happen with regard to the ſun's apparent courſe, and the points which determine the equinox and ſolſtices. The vernal or ſpring equinox, which at the time of the council of Nice happened on the twenty-firſt day of March, had gained an advance of ten days, and happened the eleventh of the ſame month. This preceſſion of the equinoxes, the cauſe of which was unknown to all the ancients, and was not diſcovered till of late years, is occaſioned by a particular motion in the earth, which motion is completed in the ſpace of twenty-five thouſand nine hundred years, and occaſions the equinoxes and ſolſtices to paſs ſucceſſively through all the points of the zodiac. This motion is the effect of gravity, of which Newton alone has diſcovered and calculated the phænomena, which ſeemed beyond the reach of human underſtanding.

In the time of Gregory XIII. they never troubled themſelves about gueſſing at the cauſe of this preceſſion of the equinoxes; the queſtion was to remedy the error which began to make a ſenſible confuſion in the civil year. Gregory on this occaſion conſulted all the famous aſtronomers of Europe. A phyſician named Lilio*, a na-

* Lilio Gregorio Giraldi, is celebrated by the hiſtorian Thuanus, as a perſon perfectly well acquainted with the Greek and Roman languages, with the belles lettres, and ancient hiſtory. He ſays he was a domeſtic of cardinal Rangoni when Rome was taken and pillaged by the troops of the emperor Charles V. on which occaſion he was plundered of all his effects, including his library. He lived in great

a native of Rome, had the honour of furniſhing the moſt ſimple and eaſy method for reſtoring the order of the year, ſuch as we now ſee it in the new Calendar. It was only to take ten days from that year (1582,) and by this eaſy precaution to prevent any diſorder in the ages to come. This Lilio has ſince been forgotten, and the calendar bears the name of pope Gregory, in like manner as Soſigenes's name was loſt in that of Cæſar. It was not thus among the ancient Greeks: with them every artiſt enjoyed the honour of his own invention.

It is however to the honour of Gregory that he was indefatigable in eſtabliſhing this neceſſary correction; for he met with more difficulty in getting it received in other nations, than in having it ſettled by the mathematicians. France held out for ſome months; till, at laſt upon an edict iſſued by Henry III. and regiſtered by the parliament of Paris, they began to reckon as they ought. But the emperor Maximilian II. could not perſuade the diet of Augſburg that the equinox was advanced ten days. It was feared that the court of Rome, in taking upon it to inſtruct other nations, would pretend to a right of governing them. Thus the old calendar continued to be uſed for ſome time even by the

great poverty to extreme old age. He invented the thirty epact numbers, denoting the exceſs of the common ſolar year above the lunar, and diſcovering the age of the moon every year. He compoſed a treatiſe for the reformation of the kalendar, which his brother Lilio Antonio Giraldi preſented to pope Gregory XIII. and his ſcheme was embraced, after having been communicated to all the princes of Chriſtendom, and approved by the moſt learned univerſities of Europe.

catholic ſtates of Germany. The proteſtants of all communions have obſtinately refuſed to admit a truth coming from the pope, which ought to have been embraced, had it been propoſed by the Turks.

1575 The latter part of Gregory XIII's pontificate was famous by the embaſſy of ſubmiſſion which he received from Japan. Rome extended its ſpiritual conqueſts to the farther end of the globe, while it ſuffered loſſes at home. Three kings or princes of Japan, which was at that time divided into ſeveral ſovereignties, ſent each one of their neareſt relations to compliment Philip II. king of Spain, as the moſt powerful of all chriſtian kings, and the pope as the father of all kings. The letters written by the princes to the pope, began all with an act of adoration. The firſt, which was from the king of Bungo began, "To the adorable, who holds the place of the king of heaven upon earth;" and ended with theſe words: "I addreſs your holineſs with reverence and awe, whom I adore, and whoſe moſt holy feet I kiſs." The other two were nearly in the ſame ſtile. Spain at that time was in hope that Japan would become one of its provinces; and the holy ſee already beheld one third of that vaſt empire ſubject to its eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction.

The people of Rome would have been very happy under Gregory's government, had not the public tranquility been troubled by banditti. He aboliſhed ſome grievous impoſts, and did not diſmember the ſtate to provide for his baſtard, as ſome of his predeceſſors had done.

CHAP.

CHAP. CLIV.

Of Pope SIXTUS V.

THE pontificate of Sixtus V. is more famous in hiſtory than thoſe of Gregory XIII. and Pius V. though theſe two pontiffs performed greater things; the one having ſignalized himſelf by the battle of Lepanto, of which he was the principal cauſe, and the other by his correction of time.

It ſometimes happens that one man, by his character and the ſingularity of his elevation, ſhall attract the regard of poſterity more than others by the moſt memorable actions. The great diſproportion which appeared between the birth of Sixtus V. who was the ſon of a poor day-labourer, and his elevation to the ſupreme pontificate, adds a double luſtre to his reputation: however, we have already obſerved, that meanneſs or obſcurity of birth was never looked upon as an obſtacle to this dignity by a religion and a court where merit is entitled to employments of every rank, notwithſtanding they may ſometimes be the rewards of intrigue and cabal. Pius V. was of a mean origin; Adrian VI. was the ſon of an artificer; Nicholas V. was obſcurely born; the father of the famous John XXII. who added a third circle to the tiara, and wore three crowns without poſſeſſing a foot of land, was a cobler at Cahors; as was likewiſe the father of pope Urban. Adrian IV. one of the greateſt of the pontiffs, was the ſon of a beggar, and followed that profeſſion himſelf.

ſelf. The hiſtory of the church is filled with inſtances of this nature, to the encouragement of private virtue and the confuſion of human pride. Thoſe who have endeavoured to exalt the birth of Sixtus V. do not conſider that in ſo doing they leſſen his perſonal merit, by taking from him the praiſe of having overcome the firſt obſtacles. There is a greater diſtance between a ſwineherd, which he was in his childhood, and the loweſt places he held in his orders, than between that place and the papal throne. Memoirs of his life have been compoſed at Rome from journals, which furniſh little more than dates, and from panegyrics, which inform us of nothing at all. The Cordelier who has written the life of Sixtus V. begins by ſaying, that "he has the honour to treat of the nobleſt, beſt, and greateſt of all pontiffs, princes, and philoſophers, the glorious and immortal Sixtus:" and by this very beginning deſtroys all credit in himſelf.

The ſpirit of Sixtus V. and of his reign is the eſſential part of his hiſtory: what particularly diſtinguiſhes him from other popes is, that he never acted in any reſpect like others. The behaving in the moſt haughty, and even oppreſſive manner, while he was a private monk; the ſubduing the heat of his temper, as ſoon as he was made a cardinal; the appearing for the ſpace of fifteen years incapable of all kind of public buſineſs, eſpecially that of commanding as a ſuperior, in order to determine one day in his favour the ſuffrages of all thoſe who thought to govern under his name; the reſuming all his pride the inſtant he aſcended the throne; the unheard-of ſeverity he exerciſed

ſed in his pontificate, and the nobleneſs of his undertakings; the embelliſhing the city of Rome, and leaving the Roman treaſury immenſely rich at his deceaſe; the diſbanding the troops, and even the body-guards of his predeceſſors, and diſperſing the numerous banditti, by the ſole power of his laws; and the making himſelf feared by every one, by his place and character; were actions that made his name illuſtrious, even among the illuſtrious ones of Henry IV. and Elizabeth, his cotemporaries. Other ſovereigns at that time ran the hazard of loſing their thrones, by engaging in any undertaking without the aſſiſtance of the numerous armies which they afterwards kept on foot. It was not thus with the ſovereigns of Rome, who, by uniting the prieſtly with the kingly dignity, did not even ſtand in need of a guard.

Sixtus V. raiſed a great reputation by the improvements he made in the buildings and police of the city of Rome; Henry IV. had done the ſame in that of Paris: but this was the leaſt of Henry's merits, whereas it was the principal one of Sixtus V. and we find that this pope executed greater things in this way than the French monarch. He ruled over a peaceable, and at that time a very induſtrious people; he found amidſt the ruins, and in the example of ancient Rome, and alſo in the labours of his predeceſſors, every thing he could wiſh to further his great deſigns.

In the time of the Roman Cæſars, fourteen immenſe aqueducts ſupported upon arches, conveyed whole rivers to Venice, for the length of ſeveral miles, and ſupplied an hundred and fifty

fountains and one hundred and eighteen public baths in that city with water, beſides what went to form thoſe artificial ſeas, on which they repreſented naval combats. An hundred thouſand ſtatues adorned the public ſquares, highways, temples, and houſes. Ninety-ſix coloſſus's all raiſed on porticos, and forty-eight obeliſks of granate, cut in the quarries of Upper Egypt, filled the beholder with amazement, and puzzled the imagination to conceive how ſuch immenſe maſſes could have been tranſported from the tropic to the banks of the Tyber. There remained a few of theſe aqueducts to be reſtored by the popes; ſome obeliſks to raiſe, which were buried under ruins, and ſome ſtatues to dig up.

Sixtus V. reſtored the fountain of Martia, whoſe ſpring is near the ancient Præneſte, twenty miles diſtant from Rome, and brought it over an aqueduct thirteen thouſand paces in length, for which it was neceſſary to raiſe arches upon a road ſeven miles long. This, which would have been a trifling work for the Roman empire, was a great deal for modern Rome in its poor and circumſcribed ſtate.

By his care five of the ancient obeliſks were raiſed. The name of the architect Fontana, who raiſed them, is ſtill famous at Rome; while the artiſts who cut them, and thoſe who tranſported them to ſo great a diſtance, are no longer known. We read in ſome travellers, and in an hundred writers who have copied after them, that when the Vatican obeliſk was raiſing upon its pedeſtal, the ropes uſed for that purpoſe were found too ſhort, upon which, notwithſtanding it had been expreſsly prohibit-

ed, under pain of death, for any one to ſpeak during the operation, one of the common people cried out, "Wet the ropes *." Theſe idle tales, which make hiſtory ridiculous, are the effects of ignorance. The capſtans which they made make uſe of on this occaſion, left no room for having recourſe to ſo trifling an aſſiſtance.

The work which gave modern Rome ſome degree of ſuperiority over the ancient, was the cupola of St. Peter's church. There were but three monuments of this kind remaining in the world; namely, part of the dome of the temple of Minerva at Athens, that of the Pantheon at Rome, and of the great moſque at Conſtantinople, formerly the church of St. Sophia, built by Juſtinian: but theſe domes, though ſufficiently lofty within, were too flat and low on the outſide. Bruneleſchi, who reſtored architecture in Italy, in the 14th century, had, by an effort of art, remedied this defect in the cathedral of Florence, by raiſing two cupolas one upon the other: but theſe cupolas had ſtill ſomething of the Gothic in them, and wanted the grand proportions. Michael Angelo Buonarota, who was a painter, ſculptor, and ar-

* This is the very reverſe of what ought to have been done, had the ropes been actually too ſhort: for a cord is ſhortened by being moiſtened with water. The complication of mechanical powers uſed in the elevation of this obeliſk, not permitting a further immediate extenſion, when it ſtill wanted ſomething of being raiſed to a perpendicular, it is ſaid that the engineer cauſed the ropes to be wetted, by which means they were ſuddenly contracted, ſo as to ſet the obeliſk upright. This is a very common experiment in natural philoſophy.

chitect, and equally great in all three branches, had, as early as the pontificate of Julius II. given the deſigns of the two domes of St. Peter's; and Sixtus V. cauſed this work, which exceeds all of its kind, to be built in the ſpace of twenty-two months.

The library, which was firſt ſet on foot by pope Nicholas V. was ſo conſiderably augmented by Sixtus, that he might very well paſs for the true founder. The immenſe pile of building which contains the books, is itſelf a beautiful monument. There was not at that time the equal of this library in Europe, either for the largeneſs or curioſity of the collection: but the city of Paris has greatly excelled Rome in this reſpect; and though the king's library at Paris is not to be compared to the Vatican, in regard to the architecture, there is a much greater number of books, they are diſpoſed in better order, and ſtrangers can much more eaſily have the reading of them.

It was the misfortune of Sixtus V. and his dominions, that he impoveriſhed his ſubjects by all theſe great foundations, whereas Henry IV. eaſed his of their load. Both of them left nearly the ſame ſum in ready money in the public treaſury at their deaths; for although Henry IV. had forty millions in reſerve, which he could diſpoſe of as he pleaſed, there was not above twenty in the vaults of the Baſtile; whereas the five millions of gold crowns depoſited by Sixtus V. in the caſtle of St. Angelo, amounted to very near twenty millions of our livres at that time. Such a ſum could not be taken out of the circulation, in a ſtate almoſt wholly void of manufactures and commerce, ſuch

ſuch as Rome is, without impoveriſhing the inhabitants: and to amaſs this treaſure, and ſupply all other expences, Sixtus was obliged to give a greater latitude to the ſale of public employs, than either Sixtus IV. or Julius II. his predeceſſors. Leo X. began this practice, Sixtus aggravated the burthen. He raiſed annuities at eight, nine, and ten per cent. for the payment of which an addition was made to the taxes. The people forgot that he was embelliſhing Rome, and only felt that he was impoveriſhing them; ſo that this pontiff was more hated than he was admired.

We ſhould always conſider the popes in two points of view, as ſovereigns of a ſtate, and as the heads of the church. Sixtus V. in quality of chief pontiff, wanted to revive the times of Gregory VII. He declared Henry IV. at that time king of Navarre, incapable of ſucceeding to the crown of France. He deprived queen Elizabeth of her kingdoms by a bull, and, had Philip's invincible armada landed in England, the bull might have been carried into execution. The manner in which he behaved towards Henry III. after the murder of the duke of Guiſe, and the cardinal his brother, was not quite ſo violent. He contented himſelf with only declaring him excommunicated, unleſs he did penance for thoſe two murders. This was imitating St. Ambroſe; and acting like Adrian IV. who required Henry II. of England to do public penance for the murder of Becket, afterwards canonized under the name of St. Thomas of Canterbury. The French king, Henry III. had juſt cauſed two princes to be murdered in his own palace; they were dangerous ſubjects

indeed, but they had not been allowed a trial; and it would even have been a very difficult matter to have regularly convicted them of any abſolute crime. They were the leaders of a fatal league, but a league which the king himſelf had ſigned. All the circumſtances of this two-fold aſſaſſination were truly horrible; and without entering upon ſuch excuſes, as might be alledged from the politics and unhappy ſituation of affairs in thoſe times, the ſafety of human kind ſeemed to require that a curb ſhould be put to ſuch violences. Sixtus loſt the fruit of his auſtere and inflexible behaviour, by ſupporting only the rights of the triple crown and the ſacred college, and not thoſe of humanity; and by not cenſuring the murder of the duke of Guiſe ſo ſtrongly as that of the cardinal; by inſiſting only on the pretended immunity of the church, and the right claimed by the popes of trying the cardinals; by ordering the king of France to releaſe the cardinal of Bourbon and the archbiſhop of Lyons, whom he detained priſoners from the ſtrongeſt reaſons of ſtate; and laſtly, by commanding him to repair within ſixty days to Rome, to expiate his offence. It is undoubtedly true, that Sixtus, as head of all Chriſtians, might ſay to a chriſtian prince, "Clear yourſelf before God of this two-fold homicide:" but he had not power to ſay to him, "It belongs to me alone to try your eccleſiaſtical ſubjects; it belongs to me to try you in my court."

This pope ſeemed ſtill leſs to preſerve the greatneſs and impartiality of his office, when after the murder of Henry III. by the monk James Clement, he delivered himſelf in theſe very

very words, in a ſpeech which he made to the cardinals, which has been faithfully tranſmitted by the ſecretary of the conſiſtory.

"This death, which occaſions ſo much ſurprize and admiration, will hardly be credited by poſterity. A powerful king ſurrounded by a numerous army, who had compelled the city of Paris to ſue to him for mercy, is ſlain by a ſingle ſtroke of a knife, by a poor monk. Certainly this great example has been given, in order that every one might know the power of God's judgments."

Sixtus was right in refuſing the empty honours of a funeral ſervice to Henry III. whom he conſidered as excluded from the benefit of prayers. Accordingly he ſaid in the ſame conſiſtory, "I owe them to the king of France, but not to Henry of Valois, who died impenitent."

All things yield to intereſt: this very pope, who had ſo proudly deprived Elizabeth and the king of Navarre of their kingdoms; who had ſignified to king Henry III. that he expected him at Rome to anſwer for his conduct, within ſixty days, or elſe that he would excommunicate him, refuſed after all to join with the league and the king of Spain againſt Henry IV. though at that time a heretic. He was ſenſible that if Philip II. ſucceeded, this prince, maſter of France, Milan, and Naples, would quickly become maſter likewiſe of the papal ſee, and of all Italy. Sixtus, then, did what every prudent man would have done in his place; he choſe rather to expoſe himſelf to all Philip's reſentment, than to ruin himſelf by lending a hand to ruin Henry.

He died in this ſtate of uncertainty, not daring to ſuccour Henry, and fearing Philip. The people of Rome, who groaned beneath the weight of taxes, and who hated ſo oppreſſive and cruel an adminiſtration, grew outrageous upon the death of Sixtus, and were with great difficulty reſtrained from diſturbing the funeral ceremony, and tearing to pieces the perſon whom they had adored on their knees. The riches he left behind him were ſquandered away within leſs than a year after his death, like thoſe of Henry IV. a common conſequence, which ſufficiently evinces the vanity of all human deſigns.

Aug. 26. 1590.

CHAP. CLV.

Of the Succeſſors of SIXTUS V.

WE may ſee how much men are governed by education, country, and prejudices of every kind. Gregory XIV. a native of Milan, and a ſubject of the king of Spain, was governed by the Spaniſh faction, whom Sixtus, a native of Rome, had always oppoſed. This pope ſacrificed every thing to Philip II. An army of Italians was raiſed to carry deſolation into France, with the very money which Sixtus had amaſſed in order to defend Italy; and this army being beaten and diſperſed, Gregory had nothing left but the ſhame of having impoveriſhed himſelf for Philip II. and being tyrannized over by him.

Clement

Clement VIII. (Aldobrandini) a Florentine, behaved with more ſpirit and addreſs; he knew very well that it was the intereſt of the papal ſee to hold, as much as poſſible, the ballance of power between France and the houſe of Auſtria. This pope added the dutchy of Ferrara to the eccleſiaſtical demeſnes. This was another effect of thoſe feudal laws, ſo intricate and ſo conteſted, and an evident conſequence of the weakneſs of the empire. The counteſs Matilda, of whom we have ſo largely treated in the foregoing part of this work, had given the popes Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio, together with ſeveral other lands. The emperors always diſputed the donation of theſe demeſnes, which were fiefs to the crown of Lombardy. They became, in ſpite of the empire, fiefs to the papal ſee; as well as Naples, which was alſo held of the popes, after it had been held of the emperors. It is but of late years that Modena and Reggio have been formerly declared Imperial fiefs: but ever ſince the time of Gregory VII. they, as well as Ferrara, had been dependent on the ſee of Rome; and the houſe of Modena, which had been formerly proprietor of theſe lands, only held them by the title of vicars to the holy ſee. The courts of Vienna and the Imperial diets in vain pretended to be lords paramount. Clement VIII. took Ferrara from the houſe of Eſte, and what might have occaſioned a violent war, produced nothing but proteſts. Since that time Ferrara has been almoſt a deſert.

This pope performed the ceremony of giving abſolution and diſcipline to Henry IV. in the perſons of the cardinals du Perron and Oſſat;

1595 but it was evident how much the ſee of Rome ſtood in awe of Philip II. by the management and artifices which pope Clement made uſe of to bring about Henry's reconciliation to the church. This prince had ſolemnly abjured the reformed religion; and yet two thirds of the cardinals in the conſiſtory refuſed to grant him abſolution. His ambaſſadors could with great difficulty prevent the pope from making uſe of this formulary, "We reſtore Henry to his royalty." The pope's miniſtry would gladly have acknowledged Henry as king of France, and have oppoſed this prince to the houſe of Auſtria; but at the ſame time it ſupported, as far as it was able, its ancient pretenſion to diſpoſe of kingdoms.

Under Paul V. (Borgheſe) the old quarrel was revived about the ſecular and eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, which had formerly coſt ſo much blood. The ſenate of Venice prohibited any new donations to be made to churches, without the concurrence of the ſtate; in particular, the alienations of landed eſtates in favour of monks. It likewiſe thought it had a right of arreſting and trying a canon of Vicenza, and an abbot of Nerveſe, who had been convicted of extortion and murder.

The pope wrote to the republic, that the ſentence and impriſonment of the two eccleſiaſtics was an injury offered to God's honour, and required that the decree of the ſenate ſhould be delivered to his nuncio, together with the perſons of the two culprits, who could be tried only by the Roman courts.

Paul V. who, but a little time before, had obliged the republic of Genoa to ſubmit on a like

like occaſion, thought to meet with the ſame pliability in that of Venice. The ſenate ſent an extraordinary ambaſſador to defend its privileges. Paul anſwered the ambaſſador, that neither the arguments nor the privileges of the Venetians were of any conſequence, and that they muſt obey. The ſenate would not obey. Upon which the doge and ſenators were all excommunicated, and the whole ſtate laid under an interdict; that is to ſay, the clergy were prohibited, under pain of eternal damnation, to ſay maſs, celebrate divine ſervice, adminiſter the ſacraments, or give their aſſiſtance in burying the dead. This was the manner in which Gregory VII. and his ſucceſſors had treated ſeveral emperors, being ſure at that time that the people would rather abandon their emperors than their churches; and depending upon having ſome potentate ready to invade the dominions of thoſe who were excommunicated. But the times were now changed. Paul V. by this violent procedure, ran the riſk of not being obeyed, and of urging the Venetians to ſhut up their churches, and renounce the Roman catholic religion. They might eaſily have embraced either the Greek, the Lutheran, or the Calviniſtical faith; and there was actually a motion made to ſeparate from the pope's communion. But the change could not have been effected without ſome trouble; of which the king of Spain might have made advantage. The ſenate contented itſelf with prohibiting the reading of the mandate throughout its territories. The chief vicar of the biſhopric of Padua, when this prohibition was ſignified unto him, made anſwer-

April 17, 1606.

ſwer to the Podeſta, that he would act as God inſpired him: but the Podeſta replying, that God had inſpired the council of ten to order every one to be hanged who ſhould diſobey their injunction, the interdict was not publiſhed in any place; and the court of Rome was very glad to let the Venetians continue in the profeſſion of the catholic religion, in deſpite of her authority.

There were only a few of the religious orders who obeyed the pope's mandate. The Jeſuits would not be the firſt to ſet the example, and therefore ſent a deputation from their body to the general aſſembly of the Capuchins, who told thoſe fathers, that "the eyes of the whole univerſe were fixed upon the Capuchins in this great affair, and waited for their example to know how to act." The Capuchins, without heſitation, ſhut up their churches. The Jeſuits and the Theatins did the ſame: upon which the ſenate ſhipped them all off for Rome, and the Jeſuits in particular were baniſhed the ſtate for ever.

The king of Spain ſtirred up the pope againſt the Venetians, and Henry IV. declared in their favour. The cities of Verona, Padua, Bergamo, and Breſcia, took up arms; and the republic raiſed four thouſand ſoldiers in France. The pope on his ſide ordered four thouſand Corſicans and ſome catholic Swiſs to be raiſed. This little army was to be commanded by cardinal Borgheſe. The Turks gave public thanks to God for this miſunderſtanding between the pope and the Venetians. Henry IV. had the honour, as I have already mentioned, of being the arbiter in this difference, and of excluding Philip from

from the mediation. Paul V. had the mortification of not being able even to get the accommodation concluded at Rome. Cardinal de Joyeuſe, who was ſent envoy to Venice by the king of France, revoked, in the pope's name, the ſentence of excommunication and interdiction. 1607 The pope, thus abandoned by Spain, behaved with greater moderation, and the Jeſuits continued baniſhed from the republic for upwards of fifty years; till at length they were recalled in 1657, at the inſtance of pope Alexander VII. but they have never been able to re-eſtabliſh their credit there.

Paul V. from that time would never make any deciſion which could call his authority in queſtion. He was in vain importuned upon the article of faith, concerning the immaculate conception of the holy virgin: he contented himſelf with forbidding any one to teach the contrary in public, that he might not give offence to the Dominicans, who pretend that ſhe was conceived like others in original ſin. The Dominicans were at that time very powerful both in Spain and Italy.

This pontiff applied himſelf to the embelliſhment of Rome, and collecting the beſt performances in ſculpture and painting. Rome is indebted to him for its fineſt fountains, particularly that which throws its waters out of an antique vaſe, taken from the baths of Veſpaſian, and that which is called the *Acqua Paola*, an ancient work of Auguſtus, which Paul V. reſtored, and cauſed water to be brought to it by an aqueduct thirty-five thouſand paces long, like that of Sixtus V. There ſeemed to be a conteſt who ſhould leave the moſt beautiful monu-

monuments behind him in Rome. This pope finiſhed the palace of Monte Cavallo. The palace of Borgheſe is one of the moſt conſiderable. Rome became under each pope the moſt beautiful city in the world. Urban VIII. built the high altar in St. Peter's, the columns and ornaments of which would every where elſe appear ſtupendous works, but here are only in a juſt proportion. It is the maſter-piece of the Florentine Bernini *, whoſe works are worthy of being admitted among thoſe of his countrymen Michael Angelo.

This Urban VIII. whoſe name was Barberino, was a lover of all the arts; and was particularly ſucceſsful in Latin poetry. The people of Rome during his pontificate enjoyed all

* John Laurentius Bernini was born at Naples, though of a Tuſcan family: he excelled in the different arts of painting, ſculpture, architecture, and mechanics. Pope Gregory XV. procured his admittance as a knight into the order of Chriſt in Portugal; and Urban VIII. made him overſeer of the edifice of St. Peter's. In this church there are fifteen different pieces of his workmanſhip. The principal of theſe are the altar-piece and the tabernacle, the chair of St Peter, the tombs of Urban VIII. and Alexander VII. the equeſtrian ſtatue of Conſtantine, the colonade, conſiſting of three hundred and twenty vaſt pillars of freeſtone; and having on its flat roof eighty-ſix ſtatues of ſaints twice as big as the life. He likewiſe deſigned the fountain in the ſquare of Navonna, the church of St. Andrew of the noviciate of the Jeſuits, which is eſteemed a perfect model in architecture. In the year 1665, he was invited into France, to deſign the Louvre, and there he made an excellent buſt of Henry IV. who rewarded his merit with an ample penſion. He afterwards undertook an equeſtrian ſtatue of that monarch, which did not anſwer expectation, and was converted into the repreſentation of Curtius leaping into the gulph.

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the ſweets which talents diffuſe through ſociety, and the reputation which is annexed to them. Urban incorporated the dutchy of Urbino, Peſaro, and Sinigaglia, with the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, after the extinction of the houſe of Rovere, which held theſe principalities in fee of the holy ſee. The dominion of the Roman pontiffs had received a continual increaſe of power ever ſince the time of Alexander VI. Nothing now troubled the public tranquility; for hardly any notice was taken of the little war which this pope Urban, or rather his nephews, made upon Edward duke of Parma, for the money which that duke owed the apoſtolic chamber for his dutchy of Caſtro. This war was but ſhort, and attended with little bloodſhed, ſuch as might be expected from theſe new Romans, whoſe manners neceſſarily were in conformity to the ſpirit of their government. Cardinal Barberino, the author of theſe troubles, marched at the head of his little army, fraught with indulgencies. The ſharpeſt battle which was fought was between four and five hundred men on each ſide. The fortreſs of Piegaia ſurrendered at diſcretion as ſoon as it ſaw the artillery approach; this artillery conſiſted of two culverins. Nevertheleſs, more negociations were required to put an end to theſe trifling broils, which hardly deſerve a place in hiſtory, than if the conteſt had concerned ancient Rome and Carthage. We mention this event only to give an inſight into the genius of modern Rome, who ended all affairs by negociation, as ancient Rome did by conqueſt.

The Romans employed their leiſure time in ceremonials of religion and precedencies, the arts,

arts, antiquities, public buildings, gardens, muſic, and aſſemblies, while a thirty years war ruined Germany, while England was bathed in the blood of its king and its natives, and while France was laid waſte by the ſucceeding civil wars: but though Rome itſelf was thus happy in its tranquility, and famous by its noble munuments, the people were in the main miſerable. The money which was expended in raiſing ſo many maſter-pieces of architecture returned to other nations, by its want of trade.

The popes were obliged to buy of foreigners all the corn wanted for the city, which they afterwards retailed out to the inhabitants. This cuſtom continues to this day. There are ſome ſtates who are enriched by luxury, and others who are impoveriſhed by it. The magnificence of ſome of the cardinals, and the popes relations, ſerved to make the indigence of the lower people more viſible, who, nevertheleſs, at the ſight of ſo many beautiful edifices, ſeemed to glory amidſt their poverty, in being inhabitants of Rome.

Thoſe who travelled to Rome to admire its curioſities, were ſurpriſed to find from Orvieto to Terracina, which is a tract of upwards of an hundred miles, only a deſert country, deſtitute both of men and cattle. The *campagna di Roma* is indeed an uninhabitable country, infected with filthy marſhes and ſtanding pools, which the ancient Romans had dried up. Rome itſelf is ſituated on a barren ſpot, and on the banks of a river which is not navigable. Its ſituation between ſeven hills, is rather that of a den for wild beaſts than a city. Its firſt wars

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were the ravages of a people who had nothing to ſubſiſt upon but plunder; and when the dictator Camillus had taken Veii, in Umbria, ſome few leagues from Rome, all the people were for quitting their barren ſoil and their ſeven mountains to tranſplant themſelves to the more fertile and pleaſant country of Veii. The environs of Rome were afterwards made fertile only by the money of conquered nations, and the labour of an immenſe number of ſlaves. But this ſpot was covered with palaces inſtead of corn. At length it has reſumed its former ſtate, and is again become a deſert country.

The papal ſee poſſeſſed ſeveral rich territories elſewhere, particularly that of Bologna. Burnet, biſhop of Saliſbury, attributes the miſery of the people in the beſt parts of this country to the taxes and the form of government. He pretends, with almoſt all other writers, that an elective prince, who reigns only a few years, has neither the power nor the will to form thoſe uſeful eſtabliſhments which require time to make them advantageous to a ſtate. It has been found eaſier to raiſe obeliſks and build palaces and temples than to make the nation trading and opulent. Rome, though the capital of the catholic world, was nevertheleſs more thinly peopled than Venice and Naples, far inferior to Paris and London in that reſpect, and did not come near to Amſterdam in opulence, or the uſeful arts, which produce riches. At the end of the ſeventeenth century it was computed that there were no more than one hundred and twenty thouſand inhabitants in Rome, according to the printed liſt of the families; and this computation was verified by

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the regiſter of births. There were born one year with another three thouſand ſix hundred children; this number of births, multiplied by thirty-four, gives nearly the ſum of the inhabitants, which here is found to amount to one hundred and twenty-two thouſand four hundred. There were about eight thouſand Jews ſettled in Rome, who were not compriſed in the above liſts. Theſe Jews have always lived peaceably both at Rome and Leghorn, without ever being ſubjected to thoſe cruelties which have been exerciſed upon them in Spain and Portugal. There was no country in Europe where religion inſpired ſo general a mildneſs of diſpoſition as in Italy.

Rome was the centre of arts and politeneſs till the age of Lewis XIV. and this it was that determined queen Chriſtina of Sweden to fix her reſidence there: but Italy was ſoon equalled in more than one branch by France, and far excelled in ſome others; England was as much ſuperior to her in the ſciences as in commerce. Rome, however, preſerved the reputation of its antiquities and fine works, for which it had been diſtinguiſhed ever ſince the time of pope Julius II.

CHAP.

CHAP. CLVI.

Continuation of the State of ITALY in the ſeventeenth Century.

TUSCANY, as being an eccleſiaſtical ſtate, enjoyed ever ſince the thirteenth century a ſtate of peace and tranquility. Florence, the rival of Rome, drew as great a concourſe of ſtrangers, who came to admire the maſterpieces of art, both ancient and modern, with which ſhe abounded. There were an hundred and ſixty public ſtatues. The only two with which Paris was adorned, namely, that of Henry IV. and the horſe which bears the ſtatue of Lewis XIII. were caſt at Florence, and were preſents made by the grand dukes.

Tuſcany became ſo flouriſhing by its trade, and its ſovereigns ſo rich, that the grand duke Coſmo II. was able to ſend twenty thouſand men to the aſſiſtance of the duke of Mantua, againſt the duke of Savoy, in 1613, without laying any tax upon his ſubjects; an example hardly to be found in the moſt powerful nations.

The city of Venice poſſeſſed a ſtill more ſingular advantage; this was, that ſince the fourteenth century its internal quiet had not been diſturbed for a ſingle moment, the city was wholly exempt from any diſorder, ſedition, or alarms. Thoſe ſtrangers who went to Rome and Florence to ſee the noble monuments of the polite arts in thoſe cities, were generally fond of making a viſit to Venice, to enjoy the freedom and pleaſures which reign there, and where

where there are ſeveral excellent pieces of painting to amuſe the curious, as well as at Rome. The liberal arts were cultivated with care, and the magnificent ſhews attracted ſtrangers. Rome was the city of ceremonies, Venice the city of diverſions. She had made peace with the Turks after the battle of Lepanto, and her trade, though fallen off, was ſtill very conſiderable in the Levant. She was in poſſeſſion of Candia and ſeveral other iſlands, of Iſtria, Dalmatia, a part of Albania, and all that ſhe now has in Italy.

1618 In the midſt of her proſperities this republic was on the point of being ruined by a conſpiracy, the like of which had not been known ſince her firſt foundation. The abbot of St. Real, who has related this memorable event in a ſtile worthy of Salluſt, has embelliſhed his narration with ſome romantic incidents; but the foundation is undoubtedly true. The Venetians had had a ſmall war with the houſe of Auſtria on the coaſt of Iſtria. The Spaniſh king, Philip III. who was poſſeſſed of the dutchy of Milan, was always the ſecret enemy of this republic. The duke of Oſſuna, viceroy of Naples, Don Pedro of Toledo, governor of Milan, and the marquis of Bedemar, afterwards the cardinal de Cueva, Philip's ambaſſador at Venice, entered all three into a plot for totally deſtroying this ſtate. The meaſures were ſo extraordinary, and the ſcheme ſo far exceeded probability, that the ſenate could not poſſibly conceive ſuſpicion. Venice was guarded by its ſituation and the lagunes with which it was ſurrounded. The weeds and mud which are continually thrown upon theſe lagunes by

the ſea, prevent veſſels from ever entering twice by the ſame paſſage, ſo that it is neceſſary to point out a new one almoſt every day. The republic had a formidable fleet on the coaſt of Iſtria, where ſhe was carrying on the war againſt the archduke of Auſtria, Ferdinand, who was afterwards the emperor Ferdinand II. It ſeemed impoſſible to get entrance into Venice, and yet the marquis of Bedemar found means to aſſemble a body of ſtrangers in the city, the one drawn in by another, to the number of five hundred. Theſe were all engaged under different pretences by the principal conſpirators, who ſecured their ſervices with the money furniſhed by the ambaſſador. They were to ſet fire to the city in ſeveral places at a time. The Milaneſe troops were to be brought over from the main land, and certain mariners who had been gained for that purpoſe, were to pilot a number of barks full of men, which the duke of Oſſuna had taken care to ſend in readineſs within a few leagues of the city. One of the conſpirators, who was a naval officer in the republic's ſervice, and commanded a ſquadron of twelve ſail, undertook to burn all theſe ſhips, and by this extraordinary ſtroke prevent the reſt of the fleet from coming in time to ſuccour the city. The conſpirators were all foreigners of different nations, and ſtrangers to each other. It was therefore no wonder that the plot was diſcovered. The procurator Nani, a famous hiſtoriographer of this republic tells us, that the ſenate was informed of the whole conſpiracy by ſeveral hands; but does not take the leaſt notice of the pretended remorſe with which one of the conſpirators, called Jaffier, is ſaid to have been ſeized, on hearing Re-

naud, their chief, harangue them for the laſt time, who painted the horrors of their intended enterprize in ſuch lively colours, as ſtruck Jaffier with diſmay, inſtead of encouraging him. Theſe kind of ſpeeches are generally the inventions of the writers themſelves, and therefore every one who reads hiſtory ought to diſtruſt them. It is neither probable nor in the nature of things, that the head of a conſpiracy ſhould give his accomplices ſo pathetic a deſcription of the horrors they were to encounter, or terrify the imaginations of thoſe whom he ought to embolden. The ſenate ordered every one of the conſpirators whom they could apprehend, to be inſtantly drowned in the canals of the city. They ſhewed ſome reſpect to Bedemar's character of ambaſſador, which they could not well infringe, and cauſed him to be privately conveyed out of the city, to ſave him from the fury of the populace *.

Venice, after eſcaping from this danger, continued in a flouriſhing condition till the taking of the iſlands of Candia. This republic ſuſtained a war alone againſt the Turkiſh emperor for near thirty years, that is to ſay, from 1641 to 1669. The ſiege of Candia was the longeſt and moſt memorable that we find mentioned in hiſtory; it laſted near twenty years; ſometimes turned into blockade, ſometimes leſs vigorous, and in a manner given over; then renewed again at different times. At length it was carried on in form for two years and an half without remiſſion, till at laſt this heap of

* This is the incident on which Otway founded his tragedy of Venice Preſerved.

aſhes,

aſhes, together with all the reſt of the iſland, was ſurrendered to the Turks, in 1669.

How ſlowly, and with what difficulty is human nature civilized, and ſociety improved! The Venetians, who dwelt almoſt at the gates of Italy, where all the arts were held in the higheſt eſtimation, were a people almoſt as unpoliſhed as thoſe of the north at that time. Iſtria, Croatia, and Dalmatia, were in a manner barbarous, and yet this was the very Dalmatia, which under the Roman empire was ſo fruitful and agreeable a country; the delicious ſpot which Diocleſian choſe for his retreat, at a time when neither the city or name of Venice exiſted. Such is the viciſſitude of human things. The Morlacks were the moſt ſavage people upon earth. In like manner Sardinia and Corſica had not the leaſt tincture of the manners or improved genius for which the Italians were ſo diſtinguiſhed. It was with Italy as with ancient Greece, who in the height of her politeneſs and glory had ſavage nations inhabiting on her borders.

OF MALTA.

THE knights of Malta maintained themſelves in this iſland, which had been given them by the emperor Charles V. after that they had been driven out of Rhodes by ſultan Solyman in 1523. At that time the grand maſter of the order, Villiers de l'Iſle-Adam, with his knights and the few Rhodians who were attached to them, were wanderers from city to city, at Meſſina, Gallipoli, at Rome, and at Viterbo. L'Iſle-Adam made a journey to Ma-

drid, to implore the assistance of Charles V. From thence he travelled into France and England, endeavouring to collect together the scattered remains of his order, which was thought to be entirely ruined. Charles V. made these knights a present of the island of Malta in 1525, together with Tripoli; but Tripoli was soon taken from them again by Solyman's admirals. Malta was only a barren rock. The soil seemed to have been made fruitful formerly by great labour, when the Carthaginians were in possession of this island; for the new possessors found the ruins of several columns and grand buildings of marble, with inscriptions in the Punic language. These remains of grandeur were proofs that it had once been a flourishing country. The Romans did not think it unworthy of their notice when they took it from the Carthaginians. The Moors became masters of it in the ninth century, and Roger the Norman, count of Sicily, annexed it to that island towards the end of the twelfth century. When Villiers L'Isle-Adam removed the seat of his order to this island, the aforementioned sultan Solyman, enraged to see his ships still exposed to the attacks of those enemies whom he thought he had rooted out, resolved to make the conquest of Malta, as he had done that of Rhodes, and sent an army of thirty thousand men to lay siege to this small place, which was defended only by seven hundred knights, and about
1565 eight thousand foreign soldiers. John de la Valette, then grand master, who was seventy-one years old, sustained a siege of four months.

The

The Turks aſſaulted the town in ſeveral places at once; but were always repulſed by a machine of a new invention, formed of great wooden hoops, covered with woollen cloths, dipt in ſpirits of wine, oil, ſalt-petre, and gunpowder; theſe hoops were ſet on fire, and thrown all flaming into the midſt of the aſſailants. At length a reinforcement of ſix thouſand men being ſent from Sicily to their aſſiſtance, the Turks were obliged to raiſe the ſiege. The principal town of Malta, which had withſtood the moſt aſſaults, was called the *victorious town*, which name it ſtill preſerves. The grand maſter de la Valette ordered a new citadel to be built, which is, after him, called La Valette, and has made Malta impregnable.

This ſmall iſland has ever ſince bid defiance to all the Ottoman force; but the order hath never been rich enough to attempt great conqueſts, or fit out numerous fleets. This convent of warriors ſubſiſts chiefly upon the rents of thoſe benefices it poſſeſſes in the catholic ſtates, and hath not been able to do near the ſame hurt to the Turks, that the Algerine corſairs have to the Chriſtians.

CHAP. CLVII.

Of HOLLAND in the ſeventeenth Century.

HOLLAND is ſo much the more deſerving of our attention, as it is entirely a new kind of ſtate, which hath become powerful without poſſeſſing hardly any territories, rich, without having a revenue ſufficient to maintain the twentieth part of its inhabitants, and conſiderable in Europe by its labours at the farther end of Aſia.

You have ſeen this republic recognized as a free and ſovereign ſtate by its former 1609 maſter the king of Spain, after having purchaſed its liberty by a forty years war. Labour and ſobriety were the principal guardians of this liberty. It is ſaid, that as the marquis of Spinola and the preſident Richardot, were going to the Hague in 1608, to negociate the firſt truce with the Hollanders, they ſaw on their way eight or ten perſons come on ſhore out of a boat, who, ſitting down on the graſs, made a plentiful meal upon bread, butter, cheeſe, and a draught of beer, each of them carrying his own proviſion with him. The Spaniſh ambaſſadors aſking a countryman who theſe travellers were, the countryman anſwered, "They are the deputies of our ſovereign lords and maſters, the ſtates." Upon which the ambaſſadors cried out, "Theſe people are never to be conquered; we muſt make peace with them." This is nearly the ſame thing as is ſaid to have happened between the king of Perſia's ambaſſa-

dors and thoſe of the Lacedemonians. The ſame manners might have produced a repetition of the ſame adventure. At that time the individuals of theſe provinces were poor, and the ſtate rich; whereas, of late times, the inhabitants are become wealthy, and the ſtate poor. The reaſon is, that then the firſt fruits of commerce were ſet apart for the defence of the community.

The Dutch were not then in poſſeſſion either of the Cape of Good Hope, which they took from the Portugueſe in 1653, of Cochin and its dependencies, nor of Molucca. They had no direct trade to China, and that of Japan, of which they are now the maſters, was prohibited them till the year 1609, by the Portugueſe, or rather by the Spaniards, who were ſtill maſters of Portugal. But they had already made the conqueſt of the Molucca iſlands, and had begun to form ſettlements in Java; and their Eaſt India company had more than doubled its capital from the year 1602, to 1609. The Siameſe had already in 1608, paid the ſame honours to theſe trading people by their ambaſſadors, as they did afterwards to Lewis XIV. Ambaſſadors alſo arrived at the Hague from Japan, in 1609, to ſettle a treaty of commerce. The emperor of Fez and Morocco ſent to deſire of them a ſupply of men and ſhips. In the ſpace of forty years they made a ſurpriſing addition to their reputation by commerce and war.

The mildneſs of this government, and the toleration of all kinds of worſhip, which might be dangerous perhaps, but was nevertheleſs neceſſary, peopled Holland with a croud of foreigners, eſpecially Walloons, who were perſecuted

ſecuted by the inquiſition in their own country, and who from ſlaves that they were at home, became free citizens in this nation.

The Calviniſtical religion, which was the reigning one in Holland, was another means of encreaſing its power. This country, at that time ſo poor, could neither have furniſhed wherewithal to ſupport the magnificence of prelates, nor to maintain religious orders; and a land which wanted men to defend it, could ill afford to harbour thoſe who engage themſelves by oath to ſuffer as far as in them lies all the human ſpecies to periſh. They had the example of England before them, which was become a third part more populous, ſince the clergy had been permitted to enjoy the comforts of matrimony; and that the hopes of whole families were no longer buried within the barren confines of a cloiſter.

Amſterdam, notwithſtanding the inconveniencies of its harbour, became the magazine of the world. All Holland was embelliſhed and enriched by immenſe works. The waters of the ocean were confined by double dykes. Vaſt canals were cut through all the towns in beds of ſtone, and the ſtreets formed large quays, ornamented with rows of tall trees. The boats unloaded their merchandize at the doors of the inhabitants; and ſtrangers are never weary of admiring the ſingular medley formed by the roofs of houſes, the branches of trees, and the ſtreamers of ſhipping, which at one time, and in the ſame place, preſent a view of the ſea, the town, and the country.

But

But ſo ſtrangely is evil blended with good, and ſo apt are men to wander wide of their firſt principles, that this republic was on the point of deſtroying with her own hands that liberty for which ſhe had ſo long and bravely fought; and perſecution carried bloodſhed among a people, whoſe happineſs and laws were founded on toleration. Two Calviniſtical teachers did that which ſo many other teachers have done. Gomar and Arminius diſputed in Leyden with the utmoſt fury on points which neither of them underſtood, and by their diſagreement ſowed diſſenſion among the United Provinces. This diſpute reſembled in ſeveral points that between the Thomiſts and Scotiſts, the Janſeniſts and Moliniſts, about predeſtination, grace, free-will, and other dark and idle queſtions, where the parties themſelves can hardly define the things about which they diſpute. The leiſure and inaction which followed upon the concluſion of the truce, gave the ignorant people an unhappy opportunity of filling their heads with theſe diſputes; and, at length, from a ſcholaſtic controverſy, two parties were formed in the ſtate.

Maurice, prince of Orange, was at the head of the Gomarians; and the penſionary, Barnevelt, ſided with the Arminians. Du Maurier ſays, that he was told by his father the ambaſſador, that Maurice having ſolicited the penſionary for his concurrence in conferring an abſolute authority on the ſtadtholder, that zealous republican anſwered him only by ſetting forth the danger and injuſtice of ſuch a project, and that from that inſtant Barnevelt's ruin was reſolved upon. It is an acknowledged truth

that the ſtadtholder had in view to enlarge his own authority by means of the Gomarians, and that Barnevelt on the other ſide endeavoured to curb it by the Arminians; that ſeveral cities raiſed ſoldiers, who were called attendants, becauſe they waited for their orders from the magiſtracy, and would not take them from the ſtadtholder; that there were ſeveral ſeditions attended with bloodſhed in many of the towns; and laſtly, that prince Maurice ſet no bounds to his perſecution of thoſe who reſiſted his authority.

1618 At length he ordered a Calviniſtical council to be aſſembled at Dordrecht, compoſed of deputies from all the reformed churches in Europe, excepting that of France, whoſe ſovereign would not permit it to ſend deputies. The fathers of this ſynod, who had exclaimed ſo vehemently againſt the rigour of the fathers of ſeveral other councils, and even diſputed their authority, condemned the Arians in the ſame manner as they themſelves had been condemned by the council of Trent. Upwards of an hundred Arian miniſters were baniſhed the republic's territories. Prince Maurice choſe twenty-ſix commiſſioners from the body of the nobility and magiſtracy to try the grand penſionary Barnevelt, the famous Grotius, and others of their party. They were kept ſix months in priſon, before they were brought to their trials.

One of the principal motives of the firſt revolt of the ſeven provinces and the princes of Orange againſt Spain was, that the duke of Alva had ſuffered ſeveral perſons to languiſh in confinement without bringing them to trial, and after-

afterwards cauſed them to be condemned by commiſſioners. The ſame oppreſſions which had been complained of under the Spaniſh monarchy, were now revived in the very boſom of liberty. Barnevelt was beheaded * at the Hague, and ſuffered more unjuſtly than even the counts of Egmont and Horne, 1619 at Bruſſels. He was a venerable old man of ſeventy, who had ſerved his country for upwards of fifty years in the cabinet, with as much ſucceſs as Maurice and his brothers had done in the field. He was ſentenced for "having

* John Olden Barnevelt, advocate-general and penſioner of the ſtates of Holland, was a venerable patriot, who had rendered the moſt important ſervices to his country; and in particular effected the truce for twelve years, between the archduke and the ſtates-general, commencing in 1609. This was the real ſource of that reſentment afterwards manifeſted againſt him by Maurice prince of Orange, who ſought the gratification of his ambition in his endeavours to protract the war, when the people of Holland were divided by the diſpute upon predeſtination, which had ariſen between Arminius and Gomar, two proteſtant miniſters belonging to the republic. Barnevelt declared for the diſciples of the former, chiefly becauſe all they aſked was a toleration; whereas the Gomarians would not grant them that indulgence. The prince of Orange was at the head of theſe laſt, who carried their point in the ſynod of Dordrecht, where the Arminians were condemned. Barnevelt was beheaded at the age of 72, on pretence of having harboured a deſign of betraying his country to the Spaniards; a deſign which he conſtantly denied with his laſt breath; a deſign of which no proof was adduced; a deſign diametrically oppoſite to the whole tenour of his former conduct. His death was publicly regretted by the princeſs of Orange, who did not ſcruple to declare that prince Maurice and the whole family of Naſſau ought to have honoured Barnevelt as their father, on account of the great ſervices he had done their houſe.

done his utmoſt to aggrieve God's church." Grotius †, who was afterwards ambaſſador from Sweden to France, and ſtill more illuſtrious by his writings than his embaſſy, was condemned to perpetual impriſonment, from whence his wife by great reſolution and good fortune delivered him. This act of oppreſſion gave birth to conſpiracies, which brought on freſh puniſhments. One of Barnevelt's ſons reſolved to revenge his father's death upon Maurice. The plot was diſcovered, and his accomplices, the principal of whom was an Arminian miniſter, were all put to death by the hands of
1623 the public executioner. Barnevelt's ſon had the good fortune to eſcape while they were buſied in apprehending the reſt of the conſpirators: but his younger brother loſt his head only for having been privy to the conſpiracy. De Thou ſuffered death in France for the very ſame cauſe. The condemnation of young Barnevelt was much more cruel; it was indeed the height of injuſtice to put him to death, becauſe he would not turn informer againſt his

† This was the celebrated Hugo Grotius, advocate-general of Holland, ſyndic of Rotterdam, and the faſt friend of Barneveldt. Being confined in the caſtle of Louvenſtein, his wife obtained permiſſion to ſupply him with ſome cloaths, which ſhe conveyed to him in a great cheſt. In this he was incloſed and carried out of the caſtle without ſuſpicion. He retired to France, where he received a penſion from Lewis XIII. and afterwards engaged in the ſervice of Chriſtina, queen of Sweden. He left a great many works both in verſe and proſe. Among his writings that are moſt eſteemed, we number his *Mare liberum*, in anſwer to the *Mare clauſum* of Selden; *De Jure Belli ac Pacis libri tres*; *de antiquitate reipublicæ Batavicæ*; *de imperio ſummarum poteſtatum circa ſacra*; *et annales hiſtoricæ de rebus Belgicis.*

own brother. Had theſe times of cruelties and horror laſted, the free Hollanders would have been much more miſerable than their enſlaved anceſtors, under the duke of Alva.

Amſterdam, though full of Gomarians, always favoured the Arminians, and adopted the plan of toleration. The ambition and cruelty of prince Maurice left a deep wound in the hearts of the Dutch; and the remembrance of Barnevelt's death did not a little contribute towards their excluding from the ſtadtholderſhip the young prince of Orange, William III. who was afterwards king of England. He was only an infant in his cradle when the grand penſionary De Wit ſtipulated, in the treaty of peace which the ſtates general made with Cromwell in 1653, that there ſhould be no ſtadtholder for the future in Holland. Cromwell ſtill continued to perſecute Charles I. in this his infant grandſon, and the grand penſionary, De Wit, revenged the blood of a penſionary. This proceeding of De Wit's proved in the end the cauſe of his own fatal end, and that of his brother: but theſe were almoſt the only bloody cataſtrophes occaſioned in Holland by the ſtruggle between liberty and ambition.

Notwithſtanding theſe diſturbances at home, the Eaſt India company built Batavia in 1618, in ſpite of the oppoſition they met with from the kings of the country, and the Engliſh, who came to attack their new ſettlement. Holland, which is itſelf a marſhy and barren country in many parts, formed a new kingdom within five degrees of the line, and in the moſt fertile ſpot in the globe, where the fields are covered with rice, pepper, cinnamon, and vines, that

bear twice a-year. It has ſince made itſelf maſter of Bantam, in the ſame iſland, after driving the Engliſh from thence. This company alone has eight great governments in the Eaſt Indies, including the Cape of Good Hope, (though it is properly the fartheſt point of Africa) an important place which they took from the Portugueſe in the year 1653.

While the Dutch were thus forming ſettlements at the extremities of the Eaſt, they began to extend their conqueſts weſtward in America, after the expiration of the twelve years truce they had made with Spain. The Weſt India company poſſeſſed itſelf of almoſt all the Brazils between the years 1623 and 1636. It is amazing to ſee, in the regiſters of this company, that in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time it fitted out eight hundred ſail of ſhips, partly men of war and partly merchantmen, and took five hundred and forty-five veſſels from the Spaniards. This company was at that time much ſuperior to the Eaſt India one; but afterwards when Portugal had thrown off the Spaniſh yoke, that nation defended its poſſeſſions better than the Dutch, and recovered the Brazils from them, where it found a new ſource of riches.

1628 The moſt profitable of all the Dutch expeditions was that of their admiral Peter Hein, who took the whole fleet of Spaniſh galleons, returning home from the Havannah, and by that one cruiſe brought back upwards of twenty millions to his country. The treaſures of the new world, which had been conquered by the Spaniards, ſerved to ſtrengthen the hands of their old ſubjects againſt them, who were now become their moſt formidable

ene-

enemies. The republic carried on this war during eighty years, (if we except the twelve years truce) in the Netherlands, in the Eaſt Indies, and in the new world, and was ſufficiently powerful to ſecure an advantageous peace to herſelf at Munſter in 1647, independent of France, her ally and old protector, without whom ſhe had promiſed to make no treaty. Soon afterwards, viz. in 1652 and the following years, ſhe ventured to break with her allies the Engliſh: ſhe had as powerful a fleet, and her admiral, Tromp, diſputed the ſovereignty of the ſea with the famous admiral Blake, till he was ſlain in an engagement. She afterwards ſent ſuccours to the king of Denmark, when beſieged in his capital of Copenhagen by Charles X. of Sweden. Her fleet, commanded by admiral Opdam, beat the Swediſh fleet, and delivered Copenhagen. She declared war againſt the Engliſh, to whom ſhe was always a rival in trade, in the reign of Charles II. as ſhe had formerly done with Cromwell, though with far greater ſucceſs. In 1668, ſhe became the arbiter of crowned heads, and obliged Lewis XIV. to make peace with Spain. This ſame republic, who had been hitherto ſo cloſely connected with France, has from that time to the end of the ſeventeenth century ſupported Spain againſt France. She has a long time been one of the principal parties in the affairs of Europe. She has fallen and roſe again; and at laſt, though conſiderably weakened, ſhe ſubſiſts wholly by her trade, which was her firſt foundation, without having made any conqueſts in Europe, excepting that of Maeſtricht, a very ſmall and bad country, which only ſerves as a defence to her

her frontiers: ſhe has not enlarged her dominions ſince the peace of Munſter, in which reſpect ſhe more nearly reſembles the ancient republic of Tyre, whoſe power lay ſolely in its trade, than that of Carthage, who had ſuch numerous poſſeſſions in America; or Venice, who had too great an extent of territories on the main land.

CHAP. CLVIII.

Of DENMARK, SWEDEN, and POLAND, in the ſeventeenth Century.

YOU have not ſeen Denmark entering into the ſyſtem of Europe in the ſixteenth century. Nothing memorable had happened to draw the eyes of other nations on it, ſince the depoſition of the tyrant Chriſtian II. This kingdom, which is compoſed of Denmark and Norway, was a long time governed nearly in the ſame manner as that of Poland: it was an ariſtocracy, of which an elective king was preſident. This was the ancient form of government in almoſt all Europe. But in the year 1660 *, the aſſembly of the eſtates conferred the hereditary

* It is ſurpriſing that our author ſhould dwell ſo little on an event which ſtands ſingle in the records of hiſtory. At the end of a war which had deſolated the country, the eſtates were aſſembled to deliberate upon the preſent condition of the kingdom, and contrive means for raiſing money to pay the army and repair the fleet. The nobleſſe propoſed

hereditary right of ſucceſſion, and abſolute ſovereign power, on king Frederic III. Denmark then became the only kingdom in the world where the people had eſtabliſhed arbitrary power by their own ſolemn act. Norway,

poſed a tax upon the conſumption of different ſpecies, under ſuch proviſos and reſtrictions, that they themſelves muſt have been, in a great meaſure, exempted from the burden, which would have fallen chiefly upon the inhabitants of cities and towns. The clergy, as the third eſtate, exaſperated at this ſcheme, propoſed in their turn, that the fiefs of the crown, which the nobleſſe enjoyed upon very eaſy terms, ſhould be farmed to the beſt bidders. A violent diſpute enſued, and the two parties were greatly irritated againſt each other. Swan, biſhop of Seelund, and Nanſen, burgomaſter of Copenhagen, were the perſons who prevailed upon the clergy and the third eſtate, to ſubſcribe a declaration, that the crown ſhould be rendered hereditary in the preſent royal family. This they tranſmitted to the nobleſſe for their concurrence. The nobles wanted to treat with the king, that he ſhould be ſatisfied with the ſucceſſion eſtabliſhed in the male line of his family; a propoſal which he rejected. The other two orders, finding the nobleſſe averſe to their deſign, waited in a body on the king with this deed, which rendered the crown hereditary in his houſe: he thanked them for their good will, but declared he could not accept the offer without the concurrence of the nobility, who now endeavoured to break up the diet and retire from the city. The gates were immediately ſhut, and in two days they complied. The capitulation that limited the royal authority was reſtored to the king, and all the three orders took the oath of allegiance anew. Theſe tranſactions happened in the month of October; and on the tenth day of January, each order, ſeparately, delivered to the king an authentic act, by which they rendered the crown hereditary to his heirs whatſoever, either male or female; conferred upon him abſolute power, not only in governing the ſtate, but alſo in regulating the ſucceſſion and regency. Theſe three inſtruments, ſigned and ſealed by all the members of the diet, are preſerved in the archives of the kingdom.

though

though a country ſix hundred leagues in length, made no addition of power to the ſtate; a territory of barren rocks could not be much peopled. The iſlands which compoſe Denmark are more fertile; but they had not then drawn the ſame advantages from them as they have ſince. It was little imagined at that time that the Danes would have an Eaſt-India company, and a ſettlement at Tranquebar; or that their king would be able to maintain a fleet of thirty men of war, and an army of five thouſand men. Governments, like men, are long in forming. The ſpirit of trade, induſtry, and œconomy, is communicating from one to another. I ſhall not here ſpeak of the wars in which Denmark was ſo frequently engaged with its neighbours the Swedes: they have left few memorable traces behind them; and you will be better pleaſed to remark the manners and form of governments, than to enter into a detail of murders, which have produced no events worthy the attention of poſterity.

The kings of Sweden were not deſpotic more than thoſe of Denmark, in the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth centuries. The four eſtates, compoſed of one thouſand gentlemen, one hundred clergy, one hundred and fifty burghers, and about two hundred and fifty peaſants, made all the laws of the kingdom. They were not acquainted here, any more than in Denmark, or the reſt of the northern kingdoms, with the titles of marquis, count, and baron, ſo common in the other European nations. King Eric, ſon to Guſtavus Vaſa, was the firſt who introduced them into Sweden, in the year 1561. This Eric, however, was far from being

being an abſolute monarch; and he left the world an example of the miſfortunes which may attend the deſire of being deſpotic, without the power of being ſo. The ſon of the deliverer of Sweden was accuſed of divers crimes before the aſſembly of the ſtates, and unanimouſly depoſed, as Chriſtian II. had been in Denmark. He was ſentenced to perpetual impriſonment, and his crown given to his brother John. 1569

As your principal deſign in this multitude of events is to direct your attention to thoſe which depend on the manners and ſpirit of the times, it will be neceſſary to underſtand, that king John, who was a catholic, fearing that the partizans of the late king ſhould reſcue him from his confinement, and replace him on the throne, openly ſent him poiſon, in the ſame manner as the ſultan ſends the bow-ſtring, and ordered him to be ſolemnly interred with his face uncovered, that no perſon might be ignorant of his death, and that no one ſhould afterwards make uſe of his name to ſet up a new title to the throne.

The Jeſuit Poſſevinus, who was ſent by pope Gregory XIII. into Sweden, and all the North in quality of nuncio, inflicted as a penance on king John for this murder, to eat only one meal on Wedneſdays; a penance which was turned into ridicule, but ſerves to ſhew that ſome expiation was neceſſary. King Eric had been puniſhed much more rigorouſly for his crimes. 1580

Neither king John nor the nuncio Poſſevinus could ſucceed in eſtabliſhing the catholic religion in Sweden. John, who was not pleaſed with

with Lutheraniſm, endeavoured to introduce the Greek communion, but with no better ſucceſs. This prince had ſome tincture of learning, and was almoſt the only perſon in his kingdom who meddled with controverſy. There was an univerſity at Upſal; but it was reduced only to two or three profeſſors, without any ſtudents. The nation was unacquainted with any thing but arms; and yet it had made little or no progreſs in the military art. They had not began to uſe artillery till the time of Guſtavus Vaſa; the other arts were ſo wholly unknown among them, that when king John fell ill in 1592, he died before they could find a phyſician; contrary to all other kings, who are frequently ſurrounded with too many. There was not then either a phyſician or ſurgeon in all Sweden; only a few grocers who ſold medicinal drugs, which they adminiſtred at hazard. This was the cuſtom through almoſt all the North. Mankind were ſo far from being expoſed in that country to an abuſe of the arts, that they did not even know how to procure themſelves the neceſſary ones.

Nevertheleſs, Sweden might at that time have became very powerful. Sigiſmund, ſon of this king John, had been elected king of Poland, eight years before the death of his father. The Swedes then got poſſeſſion of Finland and Eſthonia. Sigiſmund, now king of Sweden and Poland, might have conquered all Muſcovy, which was at that time in no poſture of defence; but Sigiſmund was a catholic, and his Swediſh ſubjects Lutherans, ſo that he made no conqueſts; and at length loſt the crown of Sweden. The ſame eſtates who

1600

had

had depoſed his uncle Eric, depoſed him alſo; and declared another of his uncles king in his ſtead: this was Charles IX. father to the great Guſtavus Adolphus. All theſe 1604
events did not happen without commotions, wars, and conſpiracies, which ever attend ſuch changes. Charles IX. was regarded only as an uſurper by the princes who were allies to Sigiſmund; but the Swedes conſidered him as their lawful ſovereign.

Guſtavus Adolphus, his ſon, ſucceeded him without any obſtacle, when he 1611
was not full eighteen years of age; which is the time limited for the majority of the kings of Sweden and Denmark, as well as that of the princes of the empire. The Swedes were not then in poſſeſſion of Scania, one of the fineſt of their provinces, it having been ceded to the Danes ever ſince the fourteenth century; ſo that the kingdom of Sweden was almoſt always the theatre of all the wars between the Swedes and Danes. The firſt thing which Guſtavus Adolphus did was to make an incurſion into Scania, but he could never recover it. His firſt wars proved very unſucceſsful, and he was obliged to make peace with Denmark. But ſo great was his inclination to war, 1613
that he marched to attack the Muſcovites beyond Narva, as ſoon as he was free of the Danes. He afterwards fell upon Livo- 1620
nia, which belonged to the Poles, and attacking his couſin Sigiſmund every where, he penetrated into Livonia. The emperor, Ferdinand II. who was Sigiſmund's ally, and feared the riſing power of young Guſtavus, ſent a body of troops againſt him. By this we

may

may judge, that the French miniſtry had no great difficulty in perſuading Guſtavus to invade Germany *. This warrior king made a truce with Sigiſmund and the Poles; during which he kept his conqueſts. You know how he ſhook the throne of Ferdinand II. and how he died in the flower of his age, and in the midſt of his victories †.

1632 His daughter, Chriſtina, no leſs famous than himſelf, after a reign as glorious as that of her father, after having fought battles and preſided in the treaty of Weſtphalia, which reſtored peace to Germany, to the amazement of all Europe, abdicated her crown at the age of twenty-ſeven. Puffendorff ſays, that ſhe was obliged to reſign the government; but at the ſame time he owns, that when that princeſs communicated her reſolution for the firſt time to the ſenate, in 1651, the ſenators, with tears in their eyes, intreated her not to leave the kingdom: that nevertheleſs, ſhe perſiſted in her contempt of the throne, and having aſſembled the eſtates, ſhe quitted Sweden, deaf to the prayers and intreaties of her ſubjects. She had never appeared incapable of ſupporting the weight of a crown, but ſhe was fond of the polite arts. Had ſhe been a queen in Italy, ſhe would never have abdicated. This is the greateſt example we have of the real ſuperiority of the arts, of politeneſs, and of ſocial perfection, over mere nominal greatneſs.

May 21, 1654.

* Vol. v. Chap. cxlviii. † Ibid.

Her

Her couſin, Charles X. duke of Deux-Ponts, was choſen her ſucceſſor by the eſtates. This prince was wholly devoted to war. He marched into Poland, and conquered it with the ſame rapidity as we have ſince ſeen his grandſon, Charles XII. ſubdue it; and he loſt it in the ſame manner. The Danes, who were then the defenders of Poland, as being conſtant enemies to the Swedes, fell upon Sweden; but Charles X. though driven out of Poland, marched over the ſea upon the ice, from iſland to iſland, and appeared before Copenhagen. This prodigious undertaking brought about a peace; by which Scania was reſtored to Sweden, after having been kept from it for above three centuries.

His ſon, Charles XI. was the firſt abſolute king of Sweden, and his grandſon, Charles XII. was the laſt. I ſhall here obſerve only one thing, which ſhews how much the ſpirit of government has changed in the North, and how long a time it required to bring about this change. It was not till after the death of Charles XII. that the Swedes, who had hitherto been wholly devoted to arms, addicted themſelves to agriculture and commerce, ſo far as an ungrateful ſoil and the mediocrity of their riches would permit them. They have ſince had an Eaſt-India company; and their ſteel, which they formerly uſed only for fighting, has ſince been tranſported in their ſhips from the port of Gottenburgh to the ſouthern provinces of Mogulſtan and China.

Poland was the only country in the world, which, joining the name of republic with that of monarchy, always choſe a foreigner for their king,

king*, as the Venetians do for the general of their army. It is likewiſe the only kingdom which has not been actuated by the ſpirit of conqueſt, being wholly occupied in defending its frontiers againſt the incurſions of the Turks and Muſcovites.

The catholic and proteſtant factions, which had diſturbed ſo many ſtates, at length made their way into this nation. The proteſtants were in ſo much credit, as to procure an edict,

* Our author ſurely cannot mean that Poland was always governed by a foreign prince, inaſmuch as king Staniſlaus, ſtill alive, John Sobieſki, Michael Koribat, Wiueſnowiſki, John Caſimir, and many other princes who reigned in that kingdom, were natives of Poland. The crown is indeed elective, and the king at his election is obliged to promiſe upon oath, that he will inviolably obſerve the *pacta conventa*, or capitulation tendered to him by order of the ſenate and nobility. The principal articles of this agreement are theſe: "That the king ſhall not appoint his ſucceſſor: that he ſhall leave to the republic the right of coining money: that he ſhall not declare war againſt any prince or ſtate whatſoever, without the conſent of the republic: that he ſhall admit no foreigners into his council, nor confer upon them any office, dignity, or government: that he ſhall not marry but according to the ancient laws, with the conſent of the ſenate: that for the maintenance of his table, he ſhall have no royal demeſnes but ſuch as the republic granted to the kings his predeceſſors: that with the advice of his council, he ſhall regulate the forces of the republic in ſuch a manner, that it ſhall never have occaſion for foreign auxiliaries: that he ſhall not in any ſhape diminiſh, but on the contrary, augment the treaſure at Cracovia: that he ſhall borrow no money, but with the conſent of the republic: that ſhould the neceſſities of the ſtate ever require a naval force, he ſhall not have power to raiſe it, but with the conſent of the nobility, and by the advice of the ſenate.

granting

granting them liberty of conſcience †, in 1587, and their party was become ſo ſtrong, that the pope's nuncio, Annibal of Capua, employed them only to endeavour to place the crown of Poland on the head of the archduke Maximilian, brother to the emperor Rodolph II. Accordingly the proteſtant faction actually elected the archduke, while the oppoſite faction choſe the Swediſh prince Sigiſmund, grandſon to Guſtavus Vaſa, of whom we have already ſpoken. Sigiſmund ſhould have been king of Sweden, had the rights of ſucceſſion taken place; but you have already ſeen that the throne of Sweden was at the diſpoſal of the eſtates. And he was ſo far from reigning there, that his nephew, Guſtavus Adolphus, was on the point of driving him from the throne of Poland, and laid aſide his deſign only to march into Germany, in order to dethrone the emperor.

It is an aſtoniſhing thing that the Swedes ſhould have ſo often over-run Poland as conquerors, and that the Turks, who are ſo much more powerful, ſhould never have penetrated far beyond the borders of that kingdom. Sultan Oſman attacked the Poles with an army of two hundred thouſand men in Sigiſmund's time, on the ſide of Moldavia. The Coſſacks, who were the only people then connected with the republic, and who were under its protection, by the obſtinate reſiſtance they made, rendered the Turkiſh invaſion fruitleſs. What muſt we

† The king is obliged by his coronation oath, to tolerate Lutheraniſm in Poliſh Pruſſia, where there are alſo ſome Calviniſts. Poland abounds alſo with Jews, to whom particular privileges are granted.

conclude

conclude from the ill ſucceſs of ſo powerful an armament, unleſs that the ſultan's generals did not know how to make war?

1632 Sigiſmund died in the ſame year with Guſtavus Adolphus. His ſon, Ladiſlaus, who ſucceeded him, ſaw the beginning of the fatal defection of theſe Coſſacks, who had been ſo long the bulwarks of the republic, and now gave their ſervice either to the Turks or the Ruſſians. Theſe people, whom we muſt diſtinguiſh from the Coſſacks of the Tanais*, inhabit the borders of the Boriſthenes†. Their lives are, in every reſpect, like thoſe of the ancient Scythians, and of the Tartars, who border on the Black Sea. All this part of the world, to the north-eaſt of Europe, was then in a ſavage ſtate. It was the exact image of the pretended heroic ages, when mankind were contented with the neceſſaries of life, and pillaged theſe neceſſaries from their neighbours. The Poliſh nobles in the palatinates, which bordered upon the Ukraine, wanted to treat the Coſſacks as their vaſſals, that is to ſay, their bondmen: upon which the whole nation, who had no other poſſeſſions but their liberty,

* Or Don, by the ancients reckoned one of the moſt famous rivers in the world, and the boundary between Europe and Aſia; it iſſues from St. John's Lake, and after uniting with the Soſna, continues a long courſe, till it divides itſelf into three arms, and falls into the Palus Mæotis below Aſoph.

† Or Nieper, one of the largeſt rivers in Europe, it has its ſource in a moraſs in the Walſhouſkei foreſt, runs in a great many windings through Lithuania, and empties itſelf into the Black ſea, between Oczakow and Kilburn. It has thirteen cataracts within a ſmall diſtance.

revolted

revolted to a man; and for a long time committed horrid depredations on the territories of Poland. Theſe Coſſacks were of the Greek church; another ſtrong reaſon to make them irreconcileable enemies to the Poles. Part of them acknowledged the Ruſſians for their maſters and part the Turks, on condition of ſtill enjoying their liberty, or rather anarchy. They ſtill preſerve the little religion they have amongſt them, which was that of the Greek church, but are now almoſt wholly deprived of their liberty by the Ruſſian empire; who, ſince it has of late years been civilized itſelf, has attempted to civilize them alſo.

King Ladiſlaus died without leaving any iſſue by his wife, Maria Louiſa de Gonzaga, the ſame who was in love with Cinq-Mars, maſter of the horſe to Lewis XIII. of France *. Ladiſlaus had two brothers, both in holy orders; the one, called John Caſimir, was a jeſuit and a cardinal; the other biſhop of Breſlau and Kiow. The cardinal and the biſhop diſputed the throne with each other. Caſimir was at length elected, who ſent back 1648 his cardinal's hat to the pope, and took the crown in its ſtead. But after having been ſpectator, for upwards of twenty years, of the deſolation of his kingdom, by factions at home, and by the incurſions of Charles X. king of Sweden, and thoſe of the Muſcovites and Coſſacks; he, following the example of queen Chriſtina, abdicated the throne, but with far leſs glory, and retired to Paris, where he 1687 died abbot of St. Germain des Prés.

* See Chap. cxlvi. Vol. V.

Poland was not more happy under his ſucceſſor Michael Coribut. All that ſhe loſt at different times would form an immenſe kingdom. The Swedes had taken Livonia, which the Ruſſians ſtill continue in poſſeſſion of, together with the duchy of Courland. The Ruſſians themſelves, after having ſtripped it of the provinces of Pleſkou and Smolenſkou, made themſelves maſters of almoſt all Kiow and the Ukraine. The Turks took Podolia and Volhinia in the reign of this Michael. In fine, Poland could not ſupport itſelf but by becoming tributary to the Ottoman Porte. The grand marechal of the crown, John Sobieſki, waſhed out this ſtain, indeed, in the blood of the Turks, at the battle of Chokzim*: this famous battle

* This battle, which was fought November 11, in the year 1673, at Chocksim on the Nieſter, by the frontier of Moldavia, continued three days ſucceſſively. The Turks are ſaid to have loſt eight thouſand Janiſſaries, and more than double that number of Spahis. They were afterwards worſted in ſeveral engagements, by Sobieſki, and obliged to ſue for peace, which was concluded at Zurowna. In the year 1674, he was elevated to the throne of Poland, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the emperor Leopold, who endeavoured to procure the crown for prince Charles of Lorrain. In the year 1683, the grand vifier, Kara Muſtapha, entered Hungary at the head of two hundred and forty thouſand men, defeated the prince of Lorrain, at the paſſage of the Raab, and undertook the ſiege of Vienna. Sobieſki, underſtanding that the city was reduced to extremity, generouſly forgot the ill offices he had ſuſtained at the hands of the emperor, and marched with a conſiderable army to his aſſiſtance. Being joined by the imperial army, under the duke of Lorrain, and by the electors of Bavaria and Saxony, at the head of their reſpective troops, he gave battle to the Turks, and routed them with great ſlaughter.

Vienna

battle delivered Poland from its tribute, and placed the crown on Sobieſki's head. But certainly this victory was neither ſo fatal to the Turks, nor ſo deciſive as was ſaid, ſeeing that they ſtill continued to keep poſſeſſion of Podolia and a part of the Ukraine, with the important fortreſs of Kaminiek, which they had taken. It is true, that when Sobieſki came to be king, he rendered his name immortal by the delivery of Vienna, but he could never recover Kaminiek; and the Turks kept it till after his death, when they reſtored it at the peace of Carlowitz, in 1699.

Poland, amidſt all its commotions, never ſuffered a change in its manners, its government, or its laws; nor became either richer or poorer: but for want of a perfect military diſcipline, which the czar Peter had, through the aſſiſtance of foreigners, found means to introduce amongſt his ſubjects, and which proved ſo infinitely advantageous to his kingdom, it has happened that the Ruſſians, who were ſo long held in contempt by the Poles, have obliged them to receive a king of their nomination; and that ten thouſand Ruſſians have impoſed laws on the aſſembly of the Poliſh nobility.

As to religion, it occaſioned very little diſturbance in this part of the world. The Unitarians had for ſome time churches in Poland

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Vienna being thus relieved, he purſued the enemy to Barkau, where, though at firſt he met with a check, owing to the impetuoſity of his courage, he next day renewed the attack with ſuch vigour, that the Turks were entirely defeated. In conſequence of this victory, he relieved Barkau, Gran, and Strigonia.

and Lithuania, at the beginning of the seventeenth century. These Unitarians, who were sometimes called Socinians, sometimes Arians, pretended to defend the cause of the deity himself, by considering him as one sole incommunicable being, who had no son but by adoption. This was not entirely the doctrine of the ancient Eusebians. They pretended to restore upon earth the purity of the primitive ages of christianity, renouncing all civil offices, and the profession of arms. Subjects, who made a scruple of conscience of fighting, did not seem very well adapted for a country that was incessantly in arms against the Turks. Nevertheless, this religion continued to flourish in Poland till the year 1658*, when it was prohibited, because it was found that these sectaries, who had renounced arms, had not renounced intrigues. They had entered into a league with Ragotski, prince of Transilvania, at that time an enemy to the republic. However, they still continue in great numbers in Poland, tho' they are not allowed to make an open profession of their opinion.

* *Faustus Socinus* resided in this nation, and his disciples became very numerous; but they were restrained by an edict, in the reign of John Casimir; and John Sobieski expelled them from the kingdom, for having published a book, entitled, *Tormentum trinitatem throno deturbans. Socinus* denied the pre-existence of the word, and considered Jesus Christ as no other than a mere man. He maintained that the Holy Ghost was not a distinct person, and that the father alone was truly and properly God. He rejected the doctrines of the redemption, of original sin, grace, and predestination; and affirmed that the sacraments were simple ceremonies without efficacy.

The

The orator Maimbourg, pretends that they fled over to Holland, "where, ſays he, every religion is tolerated but that of the church of Rome." The orator is greatly miſtaken in this article, as he is in many others. The Roman catholics are ſo far tolerated in the United Provinces, that they make almoſt two thirds of the nation; whereas the Unitarians or Socinians never had any public place of divine worſhip there. This religion has ſpread itſelf privately in Holland, Tranſilvania, Sileſia, Poland, and England; more eſpecially in the latter. It may be reckoned among the many revolutions of the human mind, that this religion, which reigned in the church for three centuries and an half after Conſtantine, ſhould be revived again in Europe within theſe two centuries, and ſpread itſelf over ſo many provinces, and yet not have a ſingle temple in any one part of the world. It ſeems as if chriſtians were afraid to admit into their communion a ſect, which formerly triumphed for ſo long a time over all other communions.

CHAP. CLIX.

Of RUSSIA in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.

WE did not at this time give the name of Ruſſia to Muſcovy, and we had but a vague idea of this country; the city of Moſcow being better known in Europe than the reſt of this vaſt empire, it was thence called

Muſcovy. Its ſovereign takes the title of emperor of all the Ruſſias, becauſe there are ſeveral provinces of this ſame name, which either belong to him, or to which he has ſome pretenſions; viz. White Ruſſia, in which is the capital of Moſcow, and is the old territory of the Roxelans; Black Ruſſia*, a part of which, towards Lithuania, belongs to the Poles; and Red Ruſſia, which is to the weſtward of the Boriſthenes.

The form of government in Muſcovy, or Ruſſia, in the ſixteenth century, was nearly the ſame with that of Poland. The Boiars, like the Poliſh nobles, reckoned their riches by the number of inhabitants on their lands. The huſbandmen were all their ſlaves. The czars were frequently choſen by the Boiars; but the czar likewiſe as frequently nominated his own ſucceſſor, which the kings of Poland never did. The uſe of artillery was very little known in this part of the world in the ſixteenth century, and they were entire ſtrangers to military diſcipline: every Boiar brought his peaſants with him to the place of rendezvous for the troops, and armed them with arrows, ſabres, wooden poles tipped with ſteel, in the form of pikes, and a few muſkets. They had no field operations, no magazines, no hoſpitals; their only method of making war was by incurſions, and when there was nothing more to plunder, the Ruſſian boiar, the Poliſh ſtaroſt, and the Tartarian mirza, called off his troops.

* The names of White Ruſſia and Black Ruſſia are given by different authors to Muſcovy in general. It is called *White* on account of its being covered with ſnow in the winter; and *Black*, from its gloomy foreſts, or, according to Cellarius, from its iron mines.

Manuring

Manuring the ground, tending the flocks, and fighting, was the whole of a Ruſſian's life, till the time of Peter the Great, and the life of three fourths of the inhabitants of the earth.

The Ruſſians, about the middle of the ſixteenth century, made an eaſy conqueſt of the kingdoms of Caſan and Aſtracan from the weakened Tartars, who were ſtill more undiſciplined than themſelves: but before Peter the Great, they could not make head againſt the Swedes on the ſide of Finland, as regular troops could not fail of having the advantage over them. From the time of John Baſilowitz, or Baſilides, who conquered Aſtracan and Caſan, a part of Livonia, Pleſkou, and Novogorod, till czar Peter, there happened nothing conſiderable.

There was a remarkable reſemblance between this Baſilides and the czar Peter. Both of them put their own ſons to death. John Baſilides ſuſpecting his ſon of a conſpiracy againſt him, during the ſiege of Pleſkou, killed him with his ſpear; and Peter, who had condemned his ſon to die, would not ſuffer him to ſurvive his ſentence tho' he ſeemed to forgive him *.

There

* Our author ſeems remarkably fond of convicting princes of filicide. We have already taken notice of this circumſtance in another volume, where he treats of the death of Don Carlos, ſon of Philip II. of Spain. We do not find any reaſon to believe that Peter was more guilty in this reſpect than Philip. His ſon, Alexis Petrowitz, was ſuch a worthleſs prince, that he not only gave a looſe to the moſt brutal paſſions, but even formed a conſpiracy to dethrone his father. He eloped from Muſcovy; and being brought back, the czar pardoned him, on condition that he ſhould diſcover his accomplices, and renounce the ſucceſſion in favour of his brother. Theſe terms he embraced;

There are few events in hiſtory of a more extraordinary nature, than that of the falſe Demetrius's, which diſturbed Ruſſia for ſo long a time after the death of John Baſilides. This czar left two ſons, named Feoder or Theodore, the other Demetri or Demetrius. Feoder ſucceeded to the crown; Demetrius was confined in a village named Uglis, together with the czarina his mother. The rude manners of that court had not, as yet, adopted the policy of the ſultan and ancient Greek emperors, to ſacrifice the princes of the blood to the ſafety of the throne. The prime miniſter, named Boris-Gudenou, whoſe ſiſter Feoder had married, perſuaded that prince that he could not eſtabliſh his authority but by imitating the Turks and aſſaſſinating his brother. Boris accordingly ſent an officer to the village, where young Demetrius was brought up, with orders to kill him. The officer, at his return, ſaid that he had executed his commiſſion, and claimed the promiſed reward: Boris, inſtead of recompenſing the murderer, ordered him to be ſlain himſelf, in order to ſuppreſs all proofs of the crime. It is ſaid that ſome time afterwards this ſame prime miniſter poiſoned czar Feoder; but, though he was ſuſpected of this crime, he ne-

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and Peter Petrowitz, the ſecond ſon, was declared heir apparent of the empire. Peter, the father, finding that his eldeſt ſon had not obſerved the articles of agreement which he had ſigned, ordered him to be tried by the officers of juſtice and the clergy, who were unanimouſly of opinion that he was worthy of death. This ſentence had ſuch an effect upon the prince, that he grew ſtupid and lethargic, and died ſoon after.

verthelefs

vertheleſs ſucceeded to the crown of the prince whom he had murdered. 1597

At this time there appeared in Lithuania, a young man, who pretended to be the prince Demetrius, who had eſcaped from the murderer ſent to aſſaſſinate him. Several perſons who had ſeen him with his mother pretended to know him again by certain marks. He perfectly reſembled the prince in features and perſon, and ſhewed a croſs enriched with precious ſtones, which had been tied about the neck of prince Demetrius when he was chriſtened. The palatine of Sandomir acknowledged him immediately as the ſon of John Baſilides, and the true czar *. A diet of Poland examined ſolemnly the proofs of his birth; and having found them inconteſtible, furniſhed him with an army to drive out the uſurper Boris, and recover the crown of his anceſtors.

In Ruſſia, however, Demetrius was looked upon as an impoſtor, and even a magician. The Ruſſians could never think that a Demetrius, introduced by Poliſh Roman catholics, and having two Jeſuits for his counſellors, could be their true king. The Boiars were ſo perſuaded of his being an impoſtor, that the czar

* This Poliſh nobleman was Adam Wiſnowitzſki, who having corrected Demetrius, known by the name of Griſka, this pretended prince ſhed a flood of tears, telling his maſter that if he knew his quality he would not treat him in that manner. Then he declared himſelf the ſon of John Baſilowitz, who had been ſaved from the perfidy of Boris, and produced a golden croſs adorned with precious ſtones, which he ſaid was hung round his neck at his baptiſm; but it was the vaivode of Sandomir, who raiſed an army in his favour.

Boris dying, they, without heſitation, placed his ſon Boris, a youth of fifteen years of age, on the throne.

1605 In the mean time Demetrius continued advancing into Ruſſia with the Poliſh army. Thoſe who were diſpleaſed with the Muſcovite government declared in his favour. One of the generals of the Ruſſian troops, as ſoon as he came in preſence of Demetrius's army, cried out, "that he was the lawful heir to the empire," and inſtantly went over to him with the corps he commanded. The revolution ſoon became complete. Demetrius was no longer a magician. The people of Moſcow ran to ſeize upon young Boris and his mother, and dragged them to priſon. Demetrius was proclaimed czar without any
1605 contradiction. It was proclaimed that young Boris and his mother were murdered in priſon. It is moſt probable, that Demetrius cauſed them to be put to death.

The widow of John Baſilides, mother to the true or falſe Demetrius, had been for a long time baniſhed into the north of Ruſſia; the new czar ſent to fetch her to court, in a kind of chariot, as magnificent as could be had at that time. He went ſeveral miles to meet her on the way, and both of them knew each other again, embracing with a flood of tears in the preſence of all the people, who no longer doubted that Demetrius was the true emperor. He married the daughter of the palatine of Sandomir, his firſt protector, and this proved his ruin*. The

* He likewiſe rendered himſelf odious to the Ruſſians, by encouraging foreigners, particularly in eſtabliſhing a guard compoſed of French, Engliſh, Germans, and Livonians.

people

people could not bear to behold, without horror, a catholic empreſs, a court filled with ſtrangers, and a church built expreſsly for the Jeſuits. Demetrius was no longer eſteemed a Ruſſian.

In the midſt of the diverſions, given on account of the czar's marriage, a Boiar, named Zuſki, got together a number of conſpirators, put himſelf at their head, and entered the palace with a drawn ſabre in one hand and a croſs in the other. The Poliſh guard were all cut in pieces: Demetrius himſelf was loaded with chains. The conſpirators confronted him with the czarina, Baſilides's widow, who had ſo ſolemnly acknowledged him as her ſon. The clergy obliged her to take an oath upon the croſs, and to declare whether Demetrius was really her ſon or not. Then, whether the fear of death forced the princeſs to take a falſe oath, and overcame nature, or that ſhe actually paid the homage due to truth, ſhe declared, with a flood of tears, that the czar was not her ſon; that the true Demetrius had been really murdered while a child; and that ſhe had followed the example of the reſt of the nation, in acknowledging the new czar, in order to revenge the death of her ſon on the family of his murderers. It was then ſaid, that Demetrius was one of the common people; that his true name was Griſka Utropoya, and that he had been ſome time a monk in a convent in Ruſſia. He had been reproached before with not being of the Greek church, and now he was reproached with being at once a Ruſſian peaſant and a Greek monk. However that was, the chief of the conſpirators, Zuſki, killed him with his own hand, and aſcended the throne in his ſtead.

The new czar, who had thus ſuddenly ſeized on the crown, ſent back to their own country the few Poles who had ſurvived the ſlaughter. As he had no other right to the throne, nor any other merit but that of having aſſaſſinated Demetrius, the other Boiars, who, from his equals, were now become his ſubjects, ſoon ſpread a report abroad, that the murdered czar was not an impoſtor, but the true Demetrius; and that his murderer was unworthy of the crown. The name of Demetrius was dear to the Ruſſians. The chancellor of him who had been murdered took it into his head to declare, that he was not dead, but that he would ſoon recover of his wounds, and appear at the head of his faithful ſubjects.

This chancellor travelled all over Muſcovy, carrying with him in a litter a young man, whom he called Demetrius, and treated as his ſovereign. At this name there was a general inſurrection of the people; battles were fought in the name of this Demetrius, whom nobody ſaw; but the chancellor's party being defeated, this ſecond Demetrius ſoon diſappeared. All imaginations were ſo impreſſed with this name, that a third Demetrius preſented himſelf in Poland, who proved more fortunate than his predeceſſors had been. He was ſupported by Sigiſmund, king of Poland, and came and beſieged the tyrant Zuſki in his very capital of Moſcow. Zuſki had ſtill in his hands the widow of the firſt Demetrius, and the palatine of Sandomir her father. The third Demetrius claimed her as his wife, and Zuſki, who ſaw himſelf cloſely ſhut up within the city, reſtored the daughter and the father, hoping, perhaps, to ſoften the king of Poland, or flattering himſelf

ſelf that the princeſs would acknowledge an impoſtor as her huſband; but this impoſtor was victorious. The widow of the firſt Demetrius therefore did not heſitate to acknowledge this third as her true and lawful huſband; and as the firſt had found a mother, the third as eaſily found a wife. The father-in-law ſwore that this was his ſon-in-law, and the people believed it as a truth. The Boiars, divided between the tyrant Zuski and the impoſtor, acknowledged neither the one nor the other. They depoſed Zuski, and confined him in a convent. This was a ſuperſtitious notion which the Ruſſians had, in common with the old Greek church, that a prince who had once been made a monk, could never reign afterwards: this ſame cuſtom had formerly crept into the Latin church. Zuski appeared no more, and Demetrius was aſſaſſinated * at a feaſt by ſome Tartars.

The Boiars then offered their crown to prince Ladiſlaus, ſon of Sigiſmund, king of Poland. Ladiſlaus made preparations to come and receive it, when a fourth Demetrius appeared to diſpute it with him. This perſon pretended that God had conſtantly preſerved him in the three attempts made upon his life, at Uglis by the tyrant Boris, at Moſcow by the uſurper Zuski, and again by the Tartars. He found ſeveral partiſans, who believed theſe three miraculous eſcapes. The city of Pleskou acknowledged him as czar. He 1610

* In revenge for the death of their prince, Kaſimowſki, whom he had ordered to be drowned. This impoſtor was by ſome ſuppoſed to have been a ſchoolmaſter at Socola, and by others to have been a Jew.

fixed

fixed his court there for ſome years, during which time the Ruſſians, who repented them of having called in the Poles, drove them out every where, and Sigiſmund loſt all hopes of ſeeing his ſon Ladiſlaus on the throne of the czars. In the midſt of theſe troubles, the ſon of the patriarch Feder Romanow, was placed on that throne. The patriarch was a relation, by the wife's ſide, to czar John Baſilides. His ſon, Michael Federowitz, that is to ſay, the ſon of Feder, was choſen czar at ſeventeen years of age by his father's intereſt. All Ruſſia acknowledged this Federowitz; and the city of Pleſkou delivered up to him the fourth Demetrius, who ended his reign on a gallows.

There was yet a fifth left: this was the ſon of the firſt who had actually reigned, and had eſpouſed the daughter of the palatine of Sandomir; his mother had conveyed him out of Moſcow, when ſhe went in queſt of the third Demetrius, in whom ſhe pretended to diſcover her true huſband. She afterwards took refuge among the Coſſacks with this child, who was looked upon as the grandſon of John Baſilides, and who might very poſſibly be ſo; but as ſoon as Michael Federowitz was ſettled on the throne, he obliged the Coſſacks to deliver up the mother and ſon, and ordered them both to be drowned.

It was not expected that a ſixth Demetrius would make his appearance; however, a new pretender ſhewed himſelf at the court of Ruſſia, under this name, while Michael Federowitz reigned in Muſcovy and Ladiſlaus in Poland. Some young people, who were bathing with a Coſſack of their own age, perceived theſe words pricked upon his back with the point of a needle,

in

in Ruſſian characters, "Demetrius, the ſon of the czar Demetrius." This perſon immediately paſſed for the ſame ſon of the firſt Demetrius who had been drowned by the czar Federowitz's orders. God had worked a miracle for his deliverance *; he was treated as the czar's

* According to the account given of this young man by Moreri, from the *Impoſteurs inſignes*, there was no miracle pretended; and this, in all probability, was really the ſon of Demetrius Griska. The princeſs, his mother, being far advanced in her pregnancy when her huſband was murdered, and foreſeeing that the uſurper's vengeance would fall upon the fruit of her womb, prevailed upon a Coſſack, whoſe wife was in the ſame ſituation, to exchange their children: by which means the Coſſack's child paſſed for the ſon of Demetrius, and was put to death accordingly. The other child being baptized, and marked on the back with characters ſignifying his birth, was carried away by the Coſſack into his own country; where, however, he beſtowed upon him a good education, in conſequence of having received a conſiderable ſum of money from the mother. This princeſs had, at her death, diſcloſed to ſome of her confidents the ſecret of the child; but ſhe knew not whither the Coſſack had retired, and he died ſuddenly, without having made Demetrius acquainted with the ſtory of his birth. Chance, however, diſcovered him, in the little town of Samburg, twelve miles from Lovemburg, in Black Ruſſia. The marks on his back being perceived in the bath, he was acknowledged by John Nicholas Danielouski, treaſurer of the kingdom, who ſent him in a proper equipage to the court of Uladiſlaus IV. king of Poland. At the death of this king, he retired to Sweden, where thinking himſelf not altogether ſafe, he removed to the court of Holſtein, where he met with an hoſpitable reception. This prince having ſent two ambaſſadors to Muſcovy, one of them, called Burchman, borrowed in his maſter's name, a conſiderable ſum of money, from the grand duke of Muſcovy's treaſurer. A Ruſſian factor at Lubeck gave the duke of Holſtein to underſtand, that the debt ſhould be cancelled if he would deliver Demetrius to the czar. The duke could not

czar's ſon at Ladiſlaus's court, and was made uſe of to excite new troubles in Ruſſia. But his protector Ladiſlaus dying, he loſt all hopes of ſucceeding, and retired into Sweden, and from thence to Holſtein. Unhappily for him the duke of Holſtein having ſent an ambaſſador to the court of Moſcow, in order to ſettle a trade for Perſian ſilks, the ambaſſador, inſtead of ſucceeding in his negociation, ran greatly in debt at Moſcow; and the duke of Holſtein, to procure a diſcharge of this debt, delivered up this laſt Demetrius, who was quartered alive.

Theſe adventures, which ſound fabulous, and yet are very true, never happen among a civilized people, who have a regular form of government. The czar Alexis, ſon of Michael Federowitz, and grandſon to the patriarch Feder Romanow, who was crowned in 1645, is ſcarcely known in Europe, unleſs by being father of Peter the Great.

Ruſſia, till the time of Peter the Great, continued almoſt unknown to the ſouthern nations of Europe, and plunged in a miſerable deſpotiſm of the prince over the Boiars, and of the Boiars over the peaſants. What are at preſent complained of as abuſes among civilized nations would have been divine laws for the Ruſſians. There are ſome regulations which excite the murmurs of our merchants and manufacturers; but in all the northern countries it was very rare to have a bed: the people in general lay

not reſiſt this temptation: and the prince was ſent by ſea to Moſcow, where he ſuffered death. His head and members were fixed upon poles before the caſtle, and his body was devoured by dogs.

upon

upon the boards, which the better ſort covered with a ſort of coarſe cloth, which they bought at foreign fairs, or elſe with the skin of ſome wild or domeſtic animal.

When the earl of Carliſle went ambaſſador from Charles II. of England, in 1663, to Moſcow, he travelled through the whole Ruſſian empire, from the port of Archangel in Poland, and every where met with the ſame cuſtoms, and that general poverty which ſuch a cuſtom pre-ſuppoſes, while the court ſhone with gold and jewels in a rude ſplendor.

An inhabitant of Crim Tartary, or a Coſſack on the banks of the Don, reduced to the ſavage life of a Ruſſian ſubject, was far more happy than him, ſince he was free and at liberty to go where he pleaſed, whereas a Ruſſian was forbid to go out of the country under pain of death. You will find by the hiſtory of Charles XII. of Sweden, and that of czar Peter, therein included, how prodigious a difference half a century has produced in this empire. Thirty ages would not have effected what Peter did by travelling only a few years.

CHAP.

CHAP. CXL.

Of the OTTOMAN EMPIRE in the ſeventeenth Century. The ſiege of CANDIA. Falſe Meſſiah.

AFTER the death of Selim II. the Ottomans maintained their ſuperiority in Europe and Aſia. They even extended their frontiers under Amurath III. whoſe generals took
1585 Raab in Hungary on one ſide, and Tibris in Perſia on the other. The Janiſſaries, who were ſo formidable to their enemies, were no leſs ſo to their maſters: but Amurath ſhewed them that he was worthy to be their commander. They came to him one day to demand the head of the tefterder, or high treaſurer. They had already gathered in a tumultuous manner, at the inner door of the ſeraglio, and even threatned the ſultan himſelf. Amurath then ordered the doors to be flung open, and followed by all the officers of his ſeraglio, he ruſhed upon them with his ſabre in his hand, put ſeveral of them to death, and the reſt fled, and diſperſed of their own accord:
1593 and this haughty militia afterwards ſtood quiet ſpectators of the execution of the principal mutineers. But what ſoldiers are thoſe who drive their maſters to the neceſſity of fighting them? It was poſſible at times to ſuppreſs, but they never could be ſubjected, diſciplined, or aboliſhed, and frequently took upon them the diſpoſal of the empire.

Mahomet III. Amurath's ſon, deſerved more than any other ſultan, that the Janiſſaries ſhould ex-

exerciſe upon him the right they had arrogated to themſelves of giving laws to their maſters. He began his reign by ſtrangling nineteen of his brothers, and ordering twelve of his father's wives, whom he ſuſpected of being with child, to be drowned. Scarce a murmur was heard in the nation, and none but the weak ſuffered. This monſter of cruelty had a glorious and ſucceſsful reign. He protected Tranſylvania againſt the emperor Rodolph II. who quitted the care of his dominions and the empire; he laid Hungary waſte, and took Agria in perſon, in ſight of the archduke Matthias; and throughout his horrid reign maintained the grandeur of the Ottoman empire.

During the reign of his ſon Achmet I. from 1603, to 1631, every thing went to ruin. The Turks were continually beaten by Sha Abbas, the great king of Perſia, who took from them Tauris, the ancient theatre of the Turkiſh and Perſian wars; drove them out of all their conqueſts, and freed Rodolph, Matthias, and Ferdinand II. from their fears. He fought for the Chriſtians without knowing it. Achmet concluded a ſhameful peace in 1615 with the emperor Matthias, by which he reſtored him Agria, Caniſa, Peſt, and Alba Regalis, which his anceſtors had conquered. Thus it is that fortune ballances the events of the world. Thus you have ſeen the Turks checked in the progreſs of their victories over the empire and Venice, by Uſſum Caſſan and Sophi Iſmael, and Conſtantinople ſaved by the Tartar Tamerlane.

What paſſed after Achmet's death ſufficiently ſhews us, that the Turkiſh government is not that abſolute monarchy which has been repreſented

ſented to us by hiſtorians, as the irreſiſtible law of deſpotiſm. This power is, in the hands of the ſultan, like a two-edged ſword, which wounds its maſter if too weak to manage it. The empire was frequently, as count Marſigli obſerves, a military democracy, which is ſtill worſe than arbitrary power. The order of ſucceſſion was uncertain. The Janiſſaries and the divan did not chuſe Achmet's ſon Oſman for
1617 their emperor, but Muſtapha, the brother of Achmet. In leſs than two months they were tired of Muſtapha, whom they declared incapable of reigning, and threw into priſon; after which they proclaimed his young nephew, Oſman, emperor, who was only twelve years of age, in whoſe name they reigned. Muſtapha had ſtill a party, though a priſoner. His faction perſuaded the Janiſſaries that young Oſman had entertained a deſign of reducing their number*, thereby to weaken their power.

* Their pretence for mutinying was the ſultan's deſign to leave Conſtantinople, and make a pilgrimage to Mecca. He had actually begun to ſend his tents and treaſures over into Aſia, when the Janiſſaries aſſembling at the ſeraglio, called out for the ſultan. On his appearing and asking the cauſe of this tumult, they told him he ſhould not quit the city, and they demanded the heads of the prime vizir and others, as enemies to the government. Next day the vizir endeavouring to expoſtulate with them was cut in pieces. Sir Thomas Roe, the Engliſh ambaſſador at Conſtantinople, had deſired this vizir, whoſe name was Delauir, to recommend him to the protection of the Kaimacan, or governor of the city, in caſe he (the vizir) ſhould attend the ſultan in his pilgrimage. To this requeſt Delauir anſwered, "Give yourſelf no trouble, I ſhall leave one of my legs behind at your ſervice." Accordingly the prediction was verified; for in a few days one of his legs was actually hung up in the Hippodrome, near the houſe of the Engliſh ambaſſador.

On

On this pretext Oſman was depoſed and ſhut up in the ſeven towers, whither the grand vizir Daout went in perſon and murdered his ſovereign. Muſtapha was a ſecond time taken from his priſon, acknowledged ſovereign, and at the end of twelve months depoſed again, by the ſame janiſſaries, who had twice choſen him emperor. Never had prince been treated with ſuch ignominy ſince the time of Vitellius. He was led through the ſtreets of Conſtantinople on an aſs, expoſed to the inſults of the populace, then carried back to the ſeven towers, and there ſtrangled. 1622

Under Amurath IV. ſurnamed Gaſi the Intrepid, every thing again aſſumed a new face. He made himſelf reſpected by the Janiſſaries, by employing them againſt the Perſians, and leading them in perſon to battle. He took Erzerom from the Perſians. Ten years afterwards he made himſelf maſter of Bagdat by aſſault, which was the ancient Seleucia, capital of Meſopotamia, now called Diarbeck, and which together with Erzerom, has ever ſince continued with the Turks. The Perſians then thought that they had no other way of ſecuring their frontiers but by laying waſte upwards of thirty leagues of their own country beyond Bagdat, and making a barren ſolitude of the moſt fruitful tract of all Perſia. Other nations defend their frontiers by fortreſſes; the Perſians have defended theirs by deſerts. 1628

At the ſame time that Amurath made himſelf maſter of Bagdat, he ſent forty thouſand men to the aſſiſtance of the great mogul Shah-Jehan againſt his ſon Aurengzeb. Had this torrent, which overflowed Aſia, fallen upon Ger-

many, at that time invaded by the Swedes and French, and rent in pieces at home, that empire would have run the riſk of loſing the glory of never having been ſubdued.

The Turks acknowledge that this victorious ſultan had no other good quality but his courage; that he was cruel, and that his cruelty was hightened by his debauchery; a debauch of wine put an end to his life, and diſhonoured his memory.

His ſon Ibrahim, who ſucceeded him, had the ſame vices, and was a weak prince, and wholly void of courage: yet it was in his reign that the Turks conquered the iſland of Candia, and that nothing remained for them to take but the capital and ſome few ſtrong places, which held out for twenty-four years.

This iſland, ſo famous in antiquity for its laws, its arts, and even its fables, had been once before taken by the Mahometan Arabs, at the beginning of the ninth century, who built the city of Candia, which afterwards gave its name to the whole iſland. They were driven out by the Greek emperors about eighty years afterwards; but in the time of the cruſade, when the Latin princes, who had entered into a league to defend Conſtantinople, invaded the Greek empire inſtead of protecting it, the Venetians were rich enough to purchaſe this iſland, and fortunate enough to keep it.

An adventure of an extraordinary and ſomewhat romantic kind, firſt drew the Ottoman arms upon Candia. Six Malteſe galleys having taken a large Turkiſh man of war, came to anchor with their prize in a ſmall port in the iſland, called Caliſmene. It was ſaid that one

one of the grand ſignor's ſons was on board the Turkiſh ſhip. What gave ſome ground to believe this report was, that the Kiſlar aga, or chief of the black eunuchs, attended by ſeveral officers of the ſeraglio, was on board of this ſhip, and that there was a child whom he ſerved with great care and reſpect. This eunuch was ſlain in the engagement; the officers who ſurvived affirmed, that this child belonged to the ſultan Ibrahim, and that his mother was ſending him into Egypt. He was a long time treated at Malta as the ſultan's ſon, in hopes of a ranſom proportionable to his birth: however, the ſultan never offered any ranſom for him, either becauſe he thought it beneath him to treat with the knights of Malta, or that the priſoner was not really his ſon; upon which this pretended prince was ſlighted by the Malteſe, and at length became a friar of the Dominican order, and was a long time known by the name of the Ottoman father. The Dominicans have ever ſince boaſted of having had the ſon of a ſultan in their order.

The Porte not being able to revenge itſelf upon the Malteſe, who from their inacceſſible rocks defied all the Ottoman force, let fall the weight of its wrath upon the Venetians, accuſing them of having infringed the treaty of peace, by ſuffering the Malteſe to bring their prize into their harbour. The Turkiſh fleet made a deſcent upon Candia, took Canea, and in a ſhort time almoſt all the reſt of the iſland. 1645

Ibrahim had no ſhare in this event. The greateſt things have been ſometimes done under the weakeſt princes. The Janiſſaries were abſolute

ſolute maſters of the empire in Ibrahim's reign; and if they made conqueſts they were for themſelves and the ſtate, and not for him. At length he was depoſed by ſentence of the mufti and the divan. The Turkiſh empire was then a downright democracy*; for after having ſhut up the ſultan in his women's apartments, they proclaimed no other emperor, but the adminiſtration was carried on in the name of the ſultan, though he no longer reigned.

Our hiſtorians pretend to tell us that Ibrahim was ſtrangled by four mutes, from the falſe ſuppoſition, that mutes are employed in executing the bloody orders of the ſeraglio; but they are only kept as buffoons or dwarfs, and never employed in any ſerious matters†. We muſt therefore look upon this ſtory only as a romantic relation: the Turkiſh annals take no notice how he died; it was a ſecret of the ſeraglio. The many falſe ſtories which have been told us concerning the government of Turky, which is ſo near to us, is ſufficient to make us doubly cautious with regard to our belief of ancient hiſtory. How can we hope to learn any thing certain concerning the ancient

* Or rather a true anarchy. Democracy is a ſpecies of government, in which the election of magiſtrates depends upon the ſuffrages of all the people: but this was by no means the caſe at Conſtantinople, where the ſultan was elevated and depoſed by a ſet of armed banditti.

† We wiſh our author had given his reaſons for contradicting the whole ſtream of hiſtory with reſpect to mutes. The circumſtance of Ibrahim's being ſtrangled by mutes is related by St. Paul Ryeaut, who reſided a long time in Turky, and therefore may be ſuppoſed to have been acquainted with the cuſtoms of the country.

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Scythians, Gomarians, and Celtes, when we are ſo badly informed of what paſſes round about us? This may convince us that we ought to confine ourſelves to public events in the hiſtory of nations, and not waſte our time in fruitleſs reſearches into private circumſtances, which are not tranſmitted to us by ocular or well vouched teſtimony.

By a ſingular fatality, this period, which proved ſo fatal to Ibrahim, was the ſame to almoſt all kings. The throne of Germany was ſhaken by the famous thirty years war; France was laid waſte by its civil broils, and the mother of Lewis XIV. was obliged to fly with her children from her capital. Charles I. was put to death in London by his own ſubjects. Philip IV. of Spain, after having loſt all his poſſeſſions in Aſia, loſt Portugal likewiſe. The beginning of the ſeventeenth century was the time of uſurpers from one end of the world to the other. England, Scotland, and Ireland, were ſubdued by Cromwell. A rebel, named Liſtching, obliged the laſt emperor of the Chineſe race to ſtrangle his wife, his children, and himſelf, and opened the empire of China to the Tartarian conquerors. Aurengzeb revolted againſt his father in Mogulſtan, left him to languiſh in priſon, and enjoyed the fruits of his crimes in peace. The greateſt of all tyrants, Mulei-Iſmael, exerciſed the moſt ſhocking cruelties throughout the empire of Morocco. Theſe two uſurpers, Aurengzeb and Mulei-Iſmael, lived the longeſt and moſt happily of all the kings of the earth. Each of their lives exceeded an hundred years. Cromwell, who was as wicked as themſelves, did not live ſo long;

but he reigned and died in peace. In running through the hiſtory of the world, we find weakneſs puniſhed, and powerful villainy fortunate; and the univerſe one vaſt ſcene of rapine left to chance.

To return to the war of Candia; it reſembled that of Troy. Sometimes the city was in danger from the Turks, and ſometimes the Turks were pent up themſelves in Canea, which they had made their magazine of arms. The Venetians never gave greater inſtances of their courage and reſolution; they ſeveral times defeated the Turkiſh fleets. St. Mark's treaſury was exhauſted in raiſing troops. The troubles of the ſeraglio, and the irruptions of the Turks into Hungary, made the expedition againſt Candia to go on but ſlowly for a time; but it was never wholly interrupted. At length, in the year 1667, Achmet Cuprogli, or Kiuperli, grand vizir to Mahomet IV. and ſon to a grand vizir, laid regular ſiege to Candia, which was defended by the captain-general Franceſco Moroſini, and St. André Montbrun, a French officer, to whom the ſenate had given the command of its land-forces.

This city would never have been taken, had the chriſtian princes in any degree imitated the example of Lewis XIV. who in 1669 ſent between ſix and ſeven thouſand men to its aſſiſtance, under the command of the duke of Beaufort and the duke of Noailles. The port of Candia was always open; ſo that there was nothing to do but to ſend over forces ſufficient to reſiſt the Janiſſaries. The duke of Beaufort, the ſame who during the time of the fronde acted a part rather more ſtrange than illuſtrious, went

went to attack the Turks in their trenches, at the head of the French nobility: but a magazine of powder and granades happening to blow up in the trenches, fruſtrated this attempt. The French thinking that the ground was undermined beneath them, fled in diſorder, and were cloſely purſued by the Turks. The duke of Beaufort was killed in this action, with ſeveral other French officers of diſtinction.

Lewis XIV. though in alliance with the Ottoman empire, openly aſſiſted the Venetians, and afterwards the Germans, againſt this empire, without the Turks ſeeming to be much diſpleaſed at it. It is not known what reaſon this monarch had for recalling his troops afterwards from Candia. The duke of Noailles, who had the command of them after the death of the duke of Beaufort, was perſuaded that the place could not hold out againſt the Turks. The captain-general Franceſco Moroſini, who had ſuſtained this famous ſiege ſo long, might have quitted the ruined city without capitulating, and have retired by ſea, of which he was ſtill maſter: but by capitulating, he ſtill kept poſſeſſion of ſome places in the iſland for his republic, and the capitulation was at the ſame time a treaty of peace. The vizir, Achmet Cuprogli, ſtaked all his glory and that of the Ottoman empire on taking Candia.

A peace then was concluded between the vizir and Moroſini; and the city of Candia, reduced to a heap of aſhes, and with only twenty ſick Chriſtians remaining in it, was given up to the Turks. Never had the Chriſtians made a more honourable capitulation with the Mahometans; nor never were articles more exactly

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obſerved by conquerors. Moroſini was allowed to carry off all the artillery which had been brought into Candia ſince the commencement of the ſiege. The vizir furniſhed boats for conveying thoſe citizens who could not find room on board the Venetian veſſels. He likewiſe preſented the burgher who brought him the keys of the town with a purſe of five hundred ſequins *, and two hundred more to thoſe who accompanied him. The Turks and the Venetians viſited each other like friends and neighbours, till the day the latter left the iſland.

Cuprogli, the conqueror of Candia, was one of the beſt generals and greateſt miniſters in Europe; and at the ſame time a juſt and humane man. He acquired immortal reputation in this long ſiege, at which, by the account of the Turks themſelves, they loſt two hundred thouſand men.

The Moroſini's, (for there were four of that name in the beſieged town,) the Cornaro's, the Giuſtiniani's, the Benzoni's, the marquis of St. André Montbrun, and the marquis of Frontenac rendered their names illuſtrious throughout Europe. It is not without reaſon that this war has been compared to that of Troy. The grand vizir had a Greek about him who deſerved the ſirname of Ulyſſes; he was called Payanotos. Prince Cantemir tells us that this Greek brought the council of Candia to capitulate by a ſtratagem worthy of Ulyſſes. The beſieged were in daily expectation of ſome ſhips from France with proviſions. Payanotos

* A ſequin is a gold coin, value about nine ſhillings and ſeven-pence of our Engliſh money.

made

made ſeveral of the Turkiſh ſhips hoiſt French colours, and ſent them out to ſea in the night time, the next day they ſailed back into the road where the Ottoman fleet was lying, who received them with a general ſhout of joy. Payanotos, who was treating with the council of war of Candia, perſuaded them that the French king had deſerted the republic, in favour of the Turks, whoſe ally he was; and this ſtratagem haſtened the capitulation. The captain-general Moroſini was accuſed in open ſenate of having betrayed the republic. However, he was defended as ſtrongly as he was accuſed. Here is another conformity between this ſtate and the antient republics of Greece and Rome, eſpecially the latter. Moroſini ſufficiently cleared his character afterwards by taking Peloponneſus, now called the Morea, from the Turks, a conqueſt which Venice enjoyed but a very ſhort time. This great man died doge, and left behind him a reputation which will laſt as long as the republic, which he ſo eminently ſerved.

Of SABBATEI-SEVI, who aſſumed the Character of MESSIAH.

DURING the war of Candia there happened an event among the Turks which attracted the attention of all Europe and Aſia. A general rumour had prevailed, founded on idle curioſity, that the year 1666 was to be the epoch of a great revolution in the world. This opinion took its riſe from the myſtical number 666, which is found in the Revelations. Never was the attempt of Anti-Chriſt ſo univerſal.

The Jews on their ſide pretended that this was the year in which their Meſſiah was to be born.

A Jew of Smyrna named Sabbatei-Sevi, a man of tolerable learning, and ſon to a rich broker of the Engliſh factory, took advantage of this general prepoſſeſſion, and declared himſelf to be the Meſſiah. He was eloquent, had an engaging figure, affected great modeſty, preached up juſtice, delivered himſelf with the air of an oracle, and declared every where that the fullneſs of time was come. He travelled at firſt into Greece and Italy. He ran away with a young girl at Leghorn, whom he brought with him to Jeruſalem, where he began to harangue his brethren. One of his diſciples, called Nathan, offered to act the part of Elias, while Sabbatei aſſumed the character of the Meſſiah. Theſe two reformed the ſynagogue at Jeruſalem. Nathan explained the prophets, and clearly proved that before the end of the year the ſultan would be dethroned, and Jeruſalem become the miſtreſs of the world. All the Jews of Syria became proſelytes to them. The ſynagogues reſounded with the ancient predictions: they relied upon the words of Iſaiah, "Ariſe Jeruſalem, ariſe in thy ſtrength and in thy glory; there ſhall be no more uncircumciſed nor impure perſons among you." All the Rabbins had this paſſage in their mouths: "Thither ſhall your brethren be ſent for from all parts of the world to Jeruſalem, even to the holy mountain; they ſhall come in chariots, and in litters, and on mules, and in waggons." In ſhort, an hundred of the like ſentences, which were repeated by the women and children, kept up theſe

theſe idle hopes. There was not a ſingle Jew but made preparations for lodging in his houſe one of the old ten tribes which had been diſperſed; and the prepoſſeſſion was ſo ſtrong, that theſe people every where neglected their trade, and kept in readineſs to make a journey to Jeruſalem.

Nathan made choice of twelve perſons in Damaſcus, to preſide over the twelve tribes. Sabbatei-Sevi took a journey to Smyrna, to ſhew himſelf to the brethren there. During his reſidence in that city, Nathan wrote to him in this ſtile: "King of kings, lord of lords, when ſhall we be worthy to lie down in the ſhadow of your aſs? I proſtrate myſelf to be trampled beneath the ſole of your feet." Sabbatei depoſed certain doctors of the law, who refuſed to own him, and placed others more tractable in their room. One of the moſt violent of his enemies, called Samuel Pennia, was publicly converted to him, and acknowledged him to be the ſon of God. Sabbatei having one day preſented himſelf before the cadi of Smyrna, with a croud of his followers, every one affirmed that they ſaw a column of fire between him and the cadi. Some few miracles of the ſame nature confirmed the authority of his miſſion. Several Jews brought their gold and jewels, and laid them at his feet.

The baſhaw of Smyrna reſolved to have him ſeized; but Sabbatei departed for Conſtantinople with the moſt zealous of his diſciples. The grand vizir, Cuprogli, who was then ſetting out for the ſiege of Candia, ſent to take him out of the ſhip that was carrying him over to Conſtantinople, and ordered him to be thrown

into priſon. The Jews eaſily obtained entrance into the priſon by paying for it, as is the cuſtom in Turky, and came in crouds to proſtrate themſelves at his feet, and kiſs his chains. He ſpent his time in preaching to, exhorting, and bleſſing them, without uttering the leaſt complaint. The Jews of Conſtantinople, perſuaded that the coming of the Meſſiah would aboliſh all debts, refuſed to pay their creditors. The Engliſh merchants of Galata bethought themſelves of paying a viſit to Sabbatei in his priſon, and told him, that as king of the Jews it behoved him to order his ſubjects to pay their debts. Sabbatei thereupon wrote in theſe terms to thoſe who were complained againſt. "To you who wait for the ſalvation of Iſrael, &c. diſcharge your lawful debts, otherwiſe you ſhall not partake of our joy, nor enter with us into our kingdom."

Sabbatei's priſon was entirely filled with thoſe who came to worſhip him. The Jews began to raiſe ſome diſturbances in Conſtantinople. The people were in general very much diſpleaſed with Mahomet IV. It was feared that the prediction of the Jews would occaſion ſome commotions. It ſeemed likely that ſo ſtrict a government as that of the Turks would have put any perſon to death who had called himſelf king of Iſrael: however, they contented themſelves with removing Sabbatei to the caſtle of the Dardanells. The Jews at that time thought it was not in the power of man to take away his life.

His fame had reached into all the countries of Europe; he was received at the Dardanells by deputies from the Jews of Poland, Germany,

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Leghorn, Venice, and Amſterdam, who payed dearly for permiſſion to kiſs his feet, and this is probably what ſaved his life. The Holy Land was quietly divided by him and his followers in the priſon. At length the noiſe of his miracles was ſo great, that ſultan Mahomet had a curioſity to ſee this man, and put ſome queſtions to him himſelf. Accordingly this king of the Jews was brought to the ſeraglio. The ſultan aſked him in the Turkiſh language, "If he was the Meſſiah." Sabbatei modeſtly replied, "He was." But as he ſpoke the Turkiſh language very incorrectly, Mahomet told him that "He ſpoke very badly for a Meſſiah, who ought to have the gift of tongues." "Doſt thou perform miracles, continued the ſultan?" "Sometimes, anſwered Sabbatei." Well then, ſaid the emperor, let him be inſtantly ſtripped naked, he ſhall be placed as a mark for my Ichoglans to ſhoot their arrows at; and if he is invulnerable, we will acknowledge him as the Meſſiah." Sabbatei hearing this, immediately fell upon his knees, and confeſſed that this was a miracle which exceeded his power. He then had his choice of being impaled alive, or of turning Muſſulman, and going publicly to moſque. He was not long heſitating, but inſtantly embraced the Turkiſh religion. He then declared that he had been ſent to ſubſtitute the Turkiſh religion in room of the Jewiſh, according to the ancient prophecies. Notwithſtanding this, the Jews of the more diſtant parts continued to believe in him for a long time; and this ſcene, which paſſed without any bloodſhed, encreaſed the ſhame and confuſion of this nation.

Some time after the Jews had met with this diſgrace in the Ottoman empire, the Chriſtians of the Latin church underwent a mortification of a different kind: they had hitherto always kept poſſeſſion of the holy ſepulchre at Jeruſalem, by means of the money they were ſupplied with by ſeveral of the princes of their communion, eſpecially the king of Spain. But that Payanotos, who had concluded the treaty for the delivery of Candia, obtained of the grand vizir, Achmet Cuprogli, that the Greek church ſhould thenceforwards have the cuſtody of all the holy places about Jeruſalem. The religious of the Latin church oppoſed this by formal proceſs. The affair was pleaded firſt before the cadi of Jeruſalem, and afterwards in the great divan of Conſtantinople, who declared the pretenſion of the Greek church to be juſtly founded, as Jeruſalem had been within its diſtrict before the time of the cruſades. The pains the Turks took to enquire into the claims and rights of their chriſtian ſubjects, and the permiſſion they gave them of exerciſing their religion in the very place where it was firſt formed, is a very ſtriking example of a government at once cruel and indigent. When the Greeks attempted, in virtue of the ſentence of the divan, to enter into poſſeſſion, theſe very Latins made reſiſtance, and ſome lives were loſt on the occaſion. The government puniſhed no one with death: a freſh proof of the humanity of the vizir Cuprogli, who ſet ſeveral examples that have ſeldom been followed. One of his predeceſſors in 1638, ordered the famous Greek patriarch of Conſtantinople, Cyril, to be ſtrangled upon the

repeated complaints of thoſe of his church. The mildneſs or cruelty of an adminiſtration every where depends upon the character of thoſe who govern.

CHAP. CLXI.

PROGRESS of the TURKS. The SIEGE of VIENNA.

THE torrent of the Ottoman power did not only overſpread Candia and the iſlands belonging to the Venetian republic, but it likewiſe frequently penetrated into Poland and Hungary. The ſame Mahomet IV. who had taken Candia by his grand-viſir, marched in perſon againſt the Poles, under pretence of protecting the Coſſacks, who had been ill-treated by them. He took from them the Ukraine, Podolia, Wolhinia, and the city of Kaminiek; and would not make peace with them till they had agreed to pay him an annual tribute of twenty thouſand crowns, from which John Sobieſki ſoon afterwards ſet them free. 1672

The Turks had ſuffered Hungary to breathe during the thirty years war which overturned Germany. From the year 1541 they had been in poſſeſſion of both ſides the Danube, to Buda, incluſively. The conqueſts of Amurath IV. in Perſia had prevented him from turning his arms towards Germany. All Tranſilvania belonged to princes whom the emperors Ferdinand II. and III. were obliged to keep fair with, and

who were tributaries to the Turks. What remained of Hungary enjoyed its liberty. It was not ſo in the time of the emperor Leopold: Upper Hungary and Tranſilvania were the theatres of revolutions, wars, and devaſtation.

Of all the people who have paſſed under our review in the courſe of this hiſtory, none appear to have been more miſerable than the Hungarians. Their country, which was depopulated, poor, and diſtracted between the catholic and proteſtant factions, and ſeveral others, was at the ſame time over-run by the armies of the Turks and the empire. It is ſaid that Ragotſki, prince of Tranſilvania, was the firſt cauſe of all theſe misfortunes; he was a tributary to the Porte, and by refuſing to pay his tribute, drew the Ottoman arms upon him. The emperor Leopold ſent a body of troops to oppoſe the Turks, under the command of Montecuculli, who was afterwards rival to the famous Turenne. Lewis XIV. likewiſe ſent ſix thouſand men to the aſſiſtance of the emperor of Germany, his natural enemy. They had a
1663 ſhare in the famous battle of St. Gothard, in which Montecuculli beat the Turks. But, notwithſtanding this victory, the
1664 Ottoman empire made an advantageous peace, by which it kept Buda, and even Neuhauſel and Tranſilvania.

The Hungarians, after being delivered from the Turks, endeavoured in the next place to defend their liberties againſt the emperor Leopold, who reſpected no privileges but thoſe of his own crown. New troubles now broke forth: young Emeric Tekeli, a Hungarian nobleman, who had the blood of his friends

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and relations to revenge, which had been ſhed by the court of Vienna, prevailed on that part of Hungary which was under the dominion of the emperor Leopold to revolt, and put himſelf under the protection of ſultan Mahomet IV. who made him king of Upper Hungary. The Ottoman Porte at that time gave four crowns to Chriſtian princes, namely, thoſe of Upper Hungary, Tranſilvania, Walachia, and Moldavia.

The blood of the Hungarian noblemen of Tekeli's party, which had been ſpilt by the hands of the common executioner at Vienna, had well nigh coſt Leopold and his family the loſs of Vienna and Auſtria. Cara Muſtapha, who ſucceeded Achmet Cuprogli as prime-miniſter, was ordered by Mahomet IV. to attack the emperor, under pretence of revenging Tekeli. The ſultan himſelf came and aſſembled his army in the plains of Adrianopolis, which was one of the moſt numerous that the Turks had ever ſent into the field. It conſiſted of upwards of one hundred thouſand regular troops, about thirty thouſand Crim-Tartars, which, together with the volunteers, thoſe who ſerved the artillery, thoſe who had care of the baggage and proviſions, the workmen of all kinds, and the ſervants, made in all full three hundred thouſand men. The whole kingdom of Hungary was hardly ſufficient to furniſh proviſions for this multitude. Cara Muſtapha met with no oppoſition in his march, and advanced without reſiſtance to the very gates of Vienna, and immediately laid ſiege to the city. July 16, 1683.

Count

Count Staremberg, who was governor of the city, had a garriſon whoſe proper eſtabliſhment was one thouſand ſix hundred men, of which there were not above half the number effective. The burghers who remained in the town were all armed; and even the univerſity itſelf, the profeſſors and the ſtudents, mounted guard; and their commanding officer was a phyſician. The retreat of the emperor Leopold encreaſed the general alarm; he had withdrawn from Vienna ever ſince the 7th of July with the empreſs his mother-in-law, his wife, and all the family. Vienna, which was very badly fortified, could not hold out long. The Turkiſh annals ſay that Cara Muſtapha had formed the deſign of ſetting up a new empire in Vienna and Hungary, independent of the ſultan; and that having entertained a notion that there muſt be immenſe treaſures in a place which was the reſidence of the German emperors, he for that reaſon did not puſh the ſiege ſo vigorouſly as he ought to have done, fearing that if the city ſhould be taken by aſſault, the general plunder ſhould deprive him of part of theſe imaginary riches. He never gave a general aſſault*, tho' there were many large breaches in the place, and though he knew the town to be without any hopes of aſſiſtance. This infatuation in the grand vizir, together with his luxury and effeminacy, ſaved Vienna, which otherwiſe muſt have fallen. It gave time to John Sobieſki,

* According to the Chriſtian hiſtorians the Turks carried on their operations with great vigour, having given repeated aſſaults, in which they were always repulſed with great ſlaughter.

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king of Poland, to come to its aſſiſtance, and to Charles V. duke of Lorraine and the princes of the empire to aſſemble an army. The Janiſſaries murmured; and faint-heartedneſs ſucceeding to indignation, they cried out, "Approach infidels, you have only to ſhew your hats, and we ſhall fly."

This was actually the caſe; for no ſooner had the king of Poland and the duke of Lorraine deſcended from the mountain of Calemberg, than the Turks took to flight, without ſtriking a blow. Cara Muſtapha, who thought to find ſuch great riches in Vienna, left all his own in Sobieſki's power, and on his return home was ſtrangled. Tekeli, who had been made king by this vizir, being ſoon after ſuſpected by the Ottoman Porte of carrying on a private correſpondence with the emperor of Germany, was apprehended by the new vizir, and ſent in chains to Conſtantinople. The Turks loſt almoſt all Hungary. Sept. 12, 1683 1685

The reign of Mahomet IV. was no longer famous but for its diſgraces: Moroſini took all Peloponneſus, which was of much greater value than Candia. The bombs of the Venetian army deſtroyed ſeveral ancient monuments which the Turks had ſtill left ſtanding, and amongſt others the famous temple of Athens, dedicated to "The unknown Gods." The Janiſſaries, who attributed all their miſfortunes to the ſultan, reſolved to depoſe him. The caimacan or governor of Conſtantinople, Muſtapha Cuprogli, the xerif of St. Sophia's moſque, and the nakif or keeper of Mahomet's ſtandard, went in a body to ſignify to the ſultan 1687

tan that he muſt reſign the throne, for ſuch was the will of the nation. The ſultan ſpoke a long time in juſtification of himſelf; but the nakib told him, in the people's name, to abdicate the empire, and leave it to his brother Solyman. Thereupon Mahomet replied, "God's will be done, ſince his anger has fallen upon my head; go and tell my brother that God declares his will by the voice of the people."

Moſt of our hiſtorians pretend that Mahomet IV. was killed by the Janiſſaries; but the Turkiſh annals teſtify that he lived five years after being ſhut up in the ſeraglio. The ſame Muſtapha Cuprogli who had depoſed Mahomet IV. ſerved as grand vizir under Solyman III. He retook part of Hungary, and in ſome meaſure reſtored the reputation of the Ottoman empire: but ſince that time the limits of this empire have never come beyond Belgrade or Temeſwaer. The ſultans retained Candia, but they did not recover the Peloponneſus till the year 1715. The famous battles which were fought between prince Eugene and the Turks has ſhewn that they are to be beaten, but not that much advantage can be gained over them.

This government, which is deſcribed as ſo arbitrary and deſpotic, appears to have been ſo only under Mahomet II. Solyman, and Selim, who made every thing give way to their wills: but under almoſt all the other padichas or emperors, eſpecially thoſe of late years, you will find the government of Conſtantinople to be the ſame with that of Algiers and Tunis; you ſee that in 1703 the emperor Muſtapha II. was formally depoſed by the militia and citizens of Conſtantinople. They did not even chooſe one

of

of his ſons to ſucceed him, but his brother Achmet III. This Achmet himſelf was condemned in 1730 by the Janiſſaries and the people to reſign the ſovereign authority to his nephew Mahmoud, and obeyed without reſiſtance, after having ſacrificed his grand vizir and his principal officers to the reſentment of the nation. Theſe are the abſolute ſovereigns ſo much talked of*. It is imagined that a man is by the laws poſſeſſed of deſpotic power over half the world, becauſe he can with impunity commit ſome crimes in his own family, and order a few ſlaves to be murdered; but he cannot perſecute the nation, and is much oftener oppreſſed than he oppreſſes.

There is a great contradiction in the manners of the Turks; they are at once brutal and charitable; covetous, yet never guilty of theft; their idle manner of living never leads them either to gaming or intemperance; very few of them uſe their privilege of having a number of wives, and enjoying ſeveral ſlaves; and there is not a great city in Europe where there are leſs common women. Invincibly attached to their own religion, they hate and deſpiſe the

* Deſpotiſm in a prince muſt either depend upon the moſt implicit obedience in the people, or on the power of the ſword: but both theſe ſupports will ſometimes fail, eſpecially in a fierce and barbarous nation. The people may be oppreſſed into rebellion, and the troops incenſed into revolt. In either caſe, the nature of the government is out of the queſtion, The revolution that enſues is the effect of violence, and by no means owing to any eſtabliſhed law or fundamental conſtitution: conſequently the depoſition of a ſultan is no proof that the government is not abſolute; it proves no more, than that the executive part of that government has revolted againſt the head.

Chriſtians,

Chriſtians, and look upon them as idolaters; and yet they ſuffer, and even protect them throughout the empire and in their capital; they permit them to make proceſſions in the vaſt quarter which is ſet apart for them in Conſtantinople; and four Janiſſaries march before the proceſſion through all the ſtreets, to preſerve them from inſults. The Turks are haughty, they know nothing of nobility; they are brave, but have not adopted the cuſtom of duelling. This is a good quality, which they have in common with all the Aſiatics, which ariſes from their never bearing arms but when they go to war. This likewiſe was the cuſtom with the Greeks and Romans, and the contrary practice was introduced among Chriſtians only in the times of barbariſm and chivalry, when it was made a point of duty and honour to walk abroad with ſpurs at their heels, and to ſit at table, or ſay their prayers, with a ſword by their ſides. The Chriſtian nobility was diſtinguiſhed by this cuſtom, which was ſoon followed, as I have already obſerved, by the ſcum of the people, and placed in the rank of thoſe follies which do not appear ſuch becauſe we are converſant with them every day.

CHAP.

CHAP. CLXII.

Of PERSIA and its Manners; of the late Revolution in that Empire; and of THAMAS KOULI-CAN, or SCHAH NADIR.

PERSIA was at that time more civilized than Turky; the arts were more honoured there, the manners were leſs brutal, and the general police better obſerved. This was not merely the effect of climate; the Arabians had cultivated the arts there for upwards of five centuries. It was they who built Iſpahan, Chiras, Caſbin, Caſhan, and ſeveral other great cities: the Turks, on the contrary, did not build one, but ſuffered ſeveral to fall to ruin. Perſia was twice ſubdued by the Tartars after the reign of the Arabian caliphs, but the conquerors did not aboliſh the arts; and the family of the Sophis, during their reign, introduced that gentleneſs of manners which they had brought with them from Armenia, where they had long reſided. Handicraft works were in general thought to be better executed and more finiſhed in Perſia than in Turky. The ſciences met with much greater encouragement there: for there was hardly a city without eſtabliſhed colleges, in which the belles lettres were taught. The Perſian language, which is ſofter and more harmonious than that of the Turks, has been very fruitful in poetical productions. They acknowledge the ancient Greeks for their maſters in the ſciences, who indeed were the firſt preceptors to Europe. Accordingly we find that the Perſian philoſophy, in the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth

venteenth century, was much the ſame as ours. Aſtrology was the growth of their country; and they were much more addicted to it than any other people in the world, as has been already remarked. The cuſtom of diſtinguiſhing lucky days by a white mark, and the unlucky by a black one, has been ſcrupulouſly preſerved among them; this was a common practice with the Romans, who took it from the Aſiatic nations. The peaſants of our provinces (in France) are not more ſtrict in obſerving the proper days for ſowing and planting pointed out in their almanacks, than were the courtiers of Iſpahan in obſerving the favourable or unfavourable hours for beginning any buſineſs. The Perſians, like many of our nations, abounded in underſtanding and errors. Some travellers have affirmed that this country is not ſo well peopled as it might be. It is very probable, that in the time of the Magi it was both better peopled and more fertile; agriculture was then a part of their religion; it is, of all other profeſſions, that which requires the moſt numerous family, and which, by preſerving health and ſtrength, enables a man more eaſily to bring up a number of children.

Nevertheleſs Iſpahan, before the laſt revolutions in Perſia, was as large and as populous as London. The city of Tauris was reckoned to contain upwards of five hundred thouſand inhabitants. Cachan was thought to be much upon a footing with Lyons. It is impoſſible that a city ſhould be well peopled, if the circumjacent country is not, unleſs that city ſubſiſts wholly by a foreign trade. We have at beſt but a very uncertain idea of the population

of

of Turky, Perſia, and the other ſtates of Aſia, excepting that of China; but it is indubitable, that every civilized country that can raiſe large armies, and abounds in manufactures, muſt have a neceſſary number of inhabitants.

The court of Iſpahan was much more magnificent than that of Conſtantinople. We imagine we are reading a relation in Xerxes time, when we meet, in the accounts of our travellers, with horſes covered with rich brocades, and their harneſs glittering with gold and precious ſtones, and the four thouſand gold vaſes which Chardin tells us were uſed at the king of Perſia's table. Common things in life, eſpecially eatables, were three times as cheap at Iſpahan and Conſtantinople as they are with us. This cheapneſs is a mark of plenty *; travellers, ſuch as Chardin, who have been well acquainted with the country, do not pretend to tell us that all the lands belong to the king. They own that there are there, as in all other countries, demeſnes belonging to the king, lands ſet apart for the clergy, and eſtates which belong by right to individuals, which are tranſmitted from father to ſon.

All the accounts we have of Perſia confirm to us, that there is no monarchical ſtate where the privileges of ſociety are more enjoyed. The people there have more reſources againſt melancholy, which is the poiſon of life, than any

* This is not always the caſe. There are countries in which proviſion is ſcarce, but money ſtill ſcarcer; of conſequence the money will be counted more valuable than the proviſion, and the price will be comparatively lower than in other countries, where there is more money and more abundance.

other

other nation of the Eaſt; they aſſembled together in ſpacious rooms, which they call Coffee-houſes, where ſome amuſed themſelves with drinking that liquor, which did not come into vogue with us till towards the end of the ſeventeenth century. Others talked or read; and others liſtened to the tellers of ſtories; while at one end of the room a prieſt was preaching for a trifling ſum of money, and at the other end a ſort of men, who make an art of amuſing others, were diſplaying their talents. Theſe are all marks of a ſociable people, and ſuch as deſerved to have been happy; and it is ſaid that they were ſo under the reign of Shah Abbas, called the Great. This pretended great man was very cruel; but there are examples of men of a brutal diſpoſition who have loved order and the good of the common-weal. A tyrant exerciſes his cruelty only upon thoſe who are more immediately under his eye, and this very tyrant may, by his laws, ſometimes prove a benefactor to the country in general.

Shah Abbas, who was a deſcendant of Sophi Iſmael, got poſſeſſion of deſpotic power, by deſtroying a militia, which was much the ſame as that of the Janiſſaries and the Prætorian guards. It was thus that czar Peter, in order to eſtabliſh his power, deſtroyed the Strelits militia in Ruſſia. We may obſerve in all countries, that the throne is ſtrengthened by troops divided into ſmall bodies; and that on the contrary, thoſe troops united in one great body, have frequently diſpoſed of the throne, and even ſubverted it. Shah-Abbas tranſported the inhabitants of one country into another, which is what the Turks never have done. Theſe colonies

colonies ſeldom ſucceed. Of thirty thouſand Chriſtian families, which Shah-Abbas tranſported out of Armenia and Georgia, into Mazanderan by the Caſpian Sea, there are but five hundred at preſent remaining: but he built ſeveral public edifices, rebuilt many towns, and raiſed ſome uſeful foundations. He retook from the Turks all that the ſultans Solyman and Selim had conquered from Perſia. He drove the Portugueſe out of Ormus. By all theſe acts he gained the name of great. He died in 1629. His ſon Shah Sophi, who was ſtill more cruel than Shah-Abbas, and not ſo good a ſoldier or politician, and who was ſtupified in debauchery, had an unhappy reign. The grand Mogul, Shah Gean, took Candahar from the Perſians, and ſultan Amurath IV. took Bagdat by aſſault in 1638.

Since that time you may perceive the Perſian monarchy viſibly declining, till at length the effeminacy of the dynaſty of the Sophis compleated its ruin. The eunuchs governed both the ſeraglio and the empire, under Sophi Muſa and Huſſein, the laſt of that race. It is the greateſt debaſement to human nature, and the particular ſcandal of the Eaſt, to deprive men of their virility; and it is the higheſt ſtretch of deſpotiſm to truſt the reins of government to the hands of ſuch wretches: where-ever they have had great power, the decline and ruin of that ſtate have been the inevitable conſequences.

Shah Huſſein's weakneſs reduced the empire to ſo languid a ſtate, aud it was moreover ſo violently diſtracted by the factions of the black and white eunuchs, that this dynaſty muſt have fallen

fallen of itſelf, even had it not been deſtroyed by Mir-Weis and his Aguans. It has been the fate of Perſia, that all its dynaſties roſe by ſtrength, and were overturned by weakneſs. Almoſt all its royal families had the fate of Sardan-pull, or Sardanapalus as he is called. Theſe Aguans, who overturned the Perſian ſtate in the beginning of the preſent century, were an ancient colony of Tartars, inhabiting the mountains of Candahar, between India and Perſia. Almoſt all the revolutions which have changed the fate of theſe countries have happened by Tartars. The Perſians had retaken Candahar from the Mogul, in the year 1650, under Shah-Abbas II. This proved their misfortune. Shah Huſſein's miniſter uſed the Aguans ill; Mir-Weis, who was no more than a private perſon, but of a courageous and enterpriſing ſpirit, put himſelf at their head.

This was alſo one of thoſe revolutions in which the character of the people, by whom it was brought about, had a greater ſhare than the characters of their leaders; for Mir-Weis having been aſſaſſinated, and his place filled up by another barbarian, named Mahmud, who was his own nephew, and no more than eighteen years old, it was not likely that this young man could do much of himſelf, or that he could manage theſe troops of undiſciplined mountaineers, as our generals conduct regular armies. Huſſein's government was fallen into contempt, and the province of Candahar having began the inſurrection, the provinces of Caucaſus on the ſide of Georgia revolted alſo. At length Mahmud laid ſiege to Iſpahan in the year 1722. Shah Huſſein gave up the capital

to

to him, abdicated the kingdom at his feet, and acknowledged him as his maſter, and thought himſelf happy that Mahmud would condeſcend to marry his daughter.

In all the ſcenes of human cruelty and miſeries which have fell under our obſervation, ſince the time of Charlemagne, there is not any ſo horrible as the conſequences which attended the revolution in Perſia. Mahmud thought there was no other way to confirm his power, but by putting to death the principal citizens, with their families. The whole kingdom of Perſia has been for theſe laſt thirty years what Germany was before the peace of Weſtphalia, France in the time of Charles, and England in the wars of the white and red roſes. But Perſia had fallen from a more flouriſhing ſtate into a greater abyſs of misfortunes.

Religion had likewiſe a ſhare in theſe calamities. The Aguans were followers of Omar, and the Perſians of Ali; and this Mahmud, who was chief of the Aguans, mixed the moſt deſpicable ſuperſtition with the moſt deteſtable cruelties. He died mad in the year 1725, after having laid Perſia waſte. A freſh uſurper of the Aguan nation ſucceeded him, called Aſraf. The deſolation of Perſia now redoubled on all ſides. The Turks over-run it on the ſide of Georgia, the ancient Colchis. The Ruſſians fell upon its provinces to the north-weſt of the Caſpian Sea, as far as the gates of Derbent, in the country of Shervan, which was the ancient Iberia and Albania. We are not told what became of the dethroned Schah-Huſſein during all theſe troubles. This prince is known only

by having ſerved as an æra to the miſeries of his country.

One of this emperor's ſons, named Thamas, who had eſcaped the maſſacre of the Imperial family, ſtill found ſome faithful ſubjects, who gathered about him in Taurus. Times of civil wars and commotions always produce extraordinary men, who would have remained unnoticed in peaceable times. A ſhepherd's ſon * became

* According to the account publiſhed by Mr. Fraſer, who reſided many years in Perſia, and perfectly underſtood the language of the country, Nadir-Kuli (for ſo he was called) was ſon to the chief of a clan of the Uſſha tribe, and governor of a fortreſs in the province of Choraſan. His uncle, having in his minority, uſurped this government, Nadir-Kuli entered into the ſervice of the governor of Muſhad. He commanded in an expedition againſt the Tartars, who had made an irruption into Choraſan, and obtained a complete victory over them. Inſtead of being rewarded for this important ſervice, he had the mortification to ſee a courtier put over his head, and when he expoſtulated with the governor of Muſhad on this injuſtice, he received the baſtinado, and was turned out of the ſervice. Then he retired to the place of his nativity, where he met with a very cold reception from his uncle and other relations, and being reduced to indigence, robbed on the highway. He conducted himſelf in this occupation with ſuch addreſs, that in a little time his gang amounted to five hundred choice men in arms, with whom he laid the whole country under contribution. He was afterwards joined by fifteen hundred men, under the command of Sif O'denbeg, a general in the army of Shah Thamas, which he abandoned on receiving intimation that his ſovereign intended to take away his life. Nadir-Kuli was now become ſo formidable, that his uncle made advances to him, and even procured his pardon from Shah Thamas, on condition that he ſhould enter into the ſervice of his ſovereign. In conſequence of this reconciliation, he was feaſted in the fortreſs, the government of which was his hereditary right; and he took

became the protector of prince Thamas, and the ſupport of that throne which he afterwards

took that opportunity of ſeizing the place, after having aſſaſſinated the uncle: thus he became maſter of all the adjacent country. Shah Thamas being threatened with immediate ruin, hemmed in by the Afghans on one ſide, and the Turks on the other, thought proper to make uſe of Nadir-Kuli, whom he once more pardoned, and admitted into his ſervice. Though Nadir acted in an inferior ſtation, he ſoon ſtemmed the tide of the Turkiſh ſucceſs, which had been for ſome time uninterrupted. He repulſed them on ſeveral occaſions, and ingratiated himſelf with his prince to ſuch a degree, that he was declared general of the Perſian army in the year 1728. He now diſcovered great military talents, defeated the enemy in various engagements, and obtained a great victory over the Afghans, which was ſo agreeable to Shah Thamas, that, as the greateſt honour he could confer on his general, he complimented him with his own name; ſo that from this period, he was called Thamas Kuli-Khan, which ſignifies ſlave Thomas. He now demanded the power of levying money throughout the whole kingdom, for the payment of the army; a power, which as it rendered him abſolute, Shah Thamas granted with great reluctance. He moreover appointed him generaliſſimo and governor of Choraſan, and gave him his own aunt in marriage. In return for theſe favours, he, in a little time, depoſed his prince, on pretence that he had made a ſcandalous peace with the Turks; and confined him in Tabuſtan, under a guard of ſix thouſand Afghans. His next ſtep was to ſeat upon the throne the infant ſon of Shah Thamas, who was now declared king by the appellation of Shah-Abbas III. Immediately after this revolution, he marched againſt the Turkiſh general Topal Othman Baſha, whoſe army amounted to ſixty thouſand men, and routed it with great ſlaughter, the Baſha himſelf having been ſlain in the beginning of the action. He continued to reduce place after place, until the Turks were driven out of all their conqueſts: he obliged the Ruſſians to evacuate the places they had taken in Perſia, and concluded peace with both. Having thus reſtored the tranquility of the kingdom, he ſummoned

wards uſurped. This man, who had raiſed himſelf to the rank of the greateſt conquerors, was called Nadir. He kept his father's ſheep in the plains of Choraſan, a part of the ancient Hyrcania and Bactria. We muſt not figure to ourſelves theſe ſhepherds the ſame as ours. The paſtoral life, which has been preſerved in ſeveral countries in Aſia, is not without its opulency. The tents of ſome of theſe rich ſhepherds are of much greater value than the houſes of ſome of our beſt farmers. Nadir ſold ſeveral large

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moned all the rulers of provinces, chiefs of tribes, and governors of cities, to attend him on a certain day, when they came, to the number of ſix thouſand, and found him encamped on a plain, at the head of an army amounting to one hundred and fifty thouſand men. He told them he had now re-eſtabliſhed the peace of his country, and intended to ſpend the reſt of his days in retirement; he therefore deſired they would elect a prince capable of governing them, and deliberate three days upon the choice. In the mean time, his emiſſaries gave them to underſtand, that it would be for their own intereſt, and that of their country, to make him a tender of the crown. The hint was taken, and he accepted the offer on the three following conditions: That the crown ſhould be rendered hereditary in his family; that no perſon, on pain of death and confiſcation, ſhould take arms in favour of the dethroned family, on any pretence whatſoever; and that in point of religion, a coalition ſhould be effected between the ſects of Ali and the Sunni. The chief prieſt remonſtrating againſt this third article, Kuli-Khan ordered him to be ſtrangled immediately: then the electors and the people agreed to what he had propoſed, and took the oath of allegiance; and he was in the month of March, in the year 1737, proclaimed emperor of Perſia, by the name of Nadir Shah. Perceiving that he had made the clergy his enemies, he ſeized their lands and revenues for the payment of his army, and publiſhed an edict, ordering all his ſubjects to conform to the Sunni religion, on pain of his royal diſpleaſure.

flocks

flocks belonging to his father, and with the money put himſelf at the head of a troop of banditti; a thing which is ſtill very common in theſe countries, where the people have retained the manners of antiquity. He offered himſelf and his troop to prince Thamas; and by dint of ambition, courage, and activity, roſe to the command of an army. He then took the name of Thamas Kouli-Khan, or the Kan Thamas's ſlave: but the ſlave was the maſter under this prince, who was as weak and effeminate as his father Huſſein. He retook Iſpahan and all Perſia; purſued the new king Aſraf, as far as Candahar; overcame and took him priſoner, and cauſed his 1729
head to be ſtruck off, after having firſt plucked out his eyes.

Kouli-Khan having thus replaced prince Thamas on the throne of his anceſtors, and put it in his power to be ungrateful, reſolved to prevent his being ſo, and ſhut him up in the capital of Choraſan. He ſtill continued to act under the name of the prince he kept a priſoner. He made war upon the Turk, well knowing that his power was to be ſtrengthened only by thoſe means by which he firſt acquired it. He beat the Turks at Erivan, retook all that country, and ſecured his conqueſts by making a peace with the Ruſſians. And now he cauſed himſelf to be declared king of Perſia, under 1736
the name of Shah Nadir. On this occaſion he did not forget the old cuſtom of putting out the eyes of thoſe who had any title to the throne, which piece of cruelty he practiſed upon his own ſovereign Shah Thamas. The ſame armies which had ſerved to deſolate

Perſia now aſſiſted in rendering her formidable to her neighbours. Kouli-Khan put the Turks ſeveral times to flight. At length he made an honourable peace with them, by which they reſtored to him all that they had ever taken from the Perſians, excepting Bagdat and its territories.

Kouli-Khan, loaded with crimes and glory, proceeded next to make the conqueſt of India, as we ſhall ſee in the following chapter. At his return to his own country, he found a party formed for the princes of the royal family who were ſtill in being; and in the midſt of theſe new commotions he was aſſaſſinated by his own nephew, like Mir-Weis the firſt author of the revolution. Perſia then became once more the theatre of civil wars. So many devaſtations deſtroyed commerce and the arts in this country, by deſtroying a part of the inhabitants; but where the land is fruitful and the nation induſtrious, every thing is repaired again in the end.

CHAP. CLXIII.

Of the MOGUL.

THIS prodigious variety of manners, cuſtoms, laws, and revolutions, which have all the ſame principle of intereſt, conſtitutes the hiſtorical picture of the univerſe. We have not ſeen, either in Perſia or Turkey, a ſon in rebellion againſt his father. In India you behold the two ſons of the Great Mogul, Gehan Guir,

Guir, making war ſucceſſively againſt their father, in the beginning of the ſeventeenth century. One of theſe princes, named Shah Gehan, made himſelf maſter of the empire in 1627, after the death of his father, Gehan Guir, in prejudice of a grandſon whom he had left his ſucceſſor. The order of ſucceſſion was not ſettled by law in Aſia, as it is in the European nations. Theſe people had one ſource of evils more than us.

Shah Gehan, who had rebelled againſt his father, in the end ſaw his children riſe up againſt him. It is difficult to comprehend how ſovereigns, who could not hinder their own children from raiſing armies againſt them, could be ſo abſolute as ſome would perſuade us they are. India appears to have been governed nearly in the ſame manner as the kingdoms of Europe at the time of the great fiefs. The governors of the provinces of Indoſtan were maſters in their own governments, and viceroyalties were given to the emperor's children. This muſt manifeſtly be an eternal ſubject of civil wars: accordingly, as ſoon as the emperor Shah Gehan began to decline in his health, his four children, who had each the command of a province, took up arms for the ſucceſſion. They agreed in dethroning their father, and made war upon each other. Exactly the ſame thing happened here as to Lewis the Feeble, or the Debonnair. The moſt wicked of the four brothers, Aurengzeb, proved the moſt fortunate.

The ſame hypocriſy which all have remarked in Cromwell was found in this Indian prince, together with the ſame diſſimulation and cruelty, but with a more unnatural heart. He at

firſt joined with one of his brothers, and made himſelf maſter of the perſon of his father Shah Gehan, whom he kept ever afterwards in priſon: he then aſſaſſinated this very brother, whom he had made uſe of as a dangerous inſtrument, which he was now reſolved to get rid of; after which he purſued his other two brothers, whom he conquered, and cauſed to be ſtrangled one after another.

The old emperor, however, was ſtill living, but kept under the moſt rigorous confinement by his ſon Aurengzeb; and his name was often made uſe of as a pretext for carrying on plots againſt the tyrant. At length, his father being taken with a ſlight indiſpoſition, he ſent his own phyſician to attend him, and the old man died. It was generally believed throughout Aſia, that Aurengzeb had poiſoned him. No man was ever a ſtronger inſtance that ſucceſs is not the reward of virtue. This man, ſtained with the blood of his brothers, and guilty of his father's death, ſucceeded in all his undertakings, and died in 1707, after having attained the age of an hundred and three*. Never

* His three brothers were called Dara-cha, Morat-Bakchi, and Sultan-Sujah. His elder brother, Dara-cha, after having been defeated by him in a bloody battle, was betrayed into his hands and beheaded. He impriſoned Morat-Bakchi in the fortreſs of Gonateor, and Sultan-Sujah fled into the kingdom of Arakan. Aurengzeb reſembled Oliver Cromwell in his ſuperſtition, as well as in his perfidy and ambition; for, when he aſcended the throne, he impoſed a penance on himſelf for the expiation of his crimes. He lived upon barley bread, herbs, and ſweatmeats, and drank nothing but water. This temperance, no doubt, contributed to his longevity, though it never reached to the age of one hundred.

had

had any prince a longer or more fortunate career. He added to the Mogul's empire, the kingdoms of Viſapour and Golconda, all the country of Carnate, and almoſt the whole of that great iſthmus which confines the coaſts of Coromandel and Malabar. This man, who would have ſuffered the moſt ignominious death, had he been tried by the common laws of nations, was, without contradiction, the moſt powerful prince in the univerſe.

The magnificence of the kings of Perſia, dazzling as it may appear to us, was only the attempt of a middling court, to ſhew ſomething like ſplendor, in compariſon with the riches of Aurengzeb.

In all times the Aſiatic princes have accumulated treaſures, their riches conſiſting in what they can heap up; whereas the wealth of the European princes conſiſts in the money that circulates in their dominions. The treaſure amaſſed by Tamerlane was ſtill in being, and his ſucceſſors had been continually adding to it. Aurengzeb increaſed it by moſt aſtoniſhing riches. One of his thrones only was valued by Tavernier at one hundred and ſixty millions of the money of his time, which is more than three hundred millions of the preſent currency. The canopy of this throne was ſupported by twelve pillars of gold, ſurrounded with large pearls. The canopy itſelf was of pearls and diamonds, and at the top was a peacock, who ſpread a tail of precious ſtones: all the reſt was in proportion to this aſtoniſhing magnificence. The greateſt feſtival of the year was that day on which the emperor was weighed in a pair of golden ſcales in preſence of the people, and on this day he

received preſents to the amount of above fifty millions.

If ever climate influenced the manners of men, it is aſſuredly that of India. The emperors diſplay the ſame luxury, and lead the ſame effeminate lives as thoſe Indian kings mentioned by Quintus Curtius; and the Tartars, who conquered this country, have inſenſibly adopted the ſame manners and become Indians.

All this exceſs of opulence and luxury only ſerved to make the ſtate more unhappy. In the year 1739, the ſame thing happened to Mahamad-Shah, Aurengzeb's grandſon, as befel Crœſus, to whom it was ſaid, "You have indeed much gold, but he that can make a better uſe of ſteel than you, will deprive you of this gold."

Thamas Kouli-Khan, who had raiſed himſelf to the throne of Perſia, after having depoſed his ſovereign, conquered the Afghans, and took Candahar, purſued his ſucceſs, and marched to the capital of India, for no other reaſon than to deprive the Mogul of all thoſe treaſures which his anceſtors had taken from the Indians. There is not an inſtance of ſo numerous an army as that which the great Mogul raiſed againſt Thamas Kouli-Khan, nor of ſo weak a conduct as that of this prince. He brought twelve hundred thouſand men, ten thouſand pieces of cannon, and two thouſand armed elephants, into the field, to oppoſe the conqueror of Perſia, who had with him only ſixty thouſand men. Darius did not bring ſo great a force againſt Alexander.

It is farther ſaid, that this vaſt multitude of Indians was covered by intrenchments ſix leagues in

in length, on that ſide by which Kouli-Khan could attack them. So prodigious an army was ſufficient to ſurround its enemies, cut them off from all communication, and deſtroy them by famine, in a country with which they were unacquainted. Inſtead of that, the little Perſian army beſieged the great one, cut off its ſupplies of proviſions, and deſtroyed it piece-meal. The great mogul, Mahamad, ſeemed to have come thither only to make a parade of his vain grandeur, and ſubject it to the power of theſe diſciplined robbers: in fact, he came and humbled himſelf to Thamas Kouli-Khan, who talked to him in a magiſterial tone, and treated him as his ſubject. This conqueror now entered Deli, which is repreſented as a city larger and more populous than either London or Paris. He dragged this rich and miſerable emperor with him where-ever he went. At length he ſhut him up in a tower, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor of India.

Some of the late Mogul's officers, having attempted to ſeize the opportunity of a night when the Perſians were given up to riot and debauch, to take up arms againſt their conquerors, Thamas Kouli-Khan delivered the city up to plunder, and every thing was ravaged by fire and ſword. He carried off much greater riches from Deli than the Spaniards had taken at the conqueſt of Mexico. Theſe immenſe treaſures, which had been amaſſed by a continual rapine of four centuries, and were carried away into Perſia by another rapine, have not prevented the Perſians from being a long time the moſt miſerable people upon earth. Theſe riches are diſperſed or buried, during the

civil wars, till ſuch time as ſome future tyrant ſhould again gather them together.

Kouli-Khan, when he left India to return into Perſia, had the vanity to leave the title of emperor to Mahamad-Shah, whom he had dethroned; but he committed the government of the empire to a viceroy, who had brought up the great mogul, and had made himſelf independent of him. He ſeparated three kingdoms from this vaſt empire, viz. Cachemire, Caboul, and Multan, to incorporate them with Perſia, and impoſed a tribute of ſeveral millions on Indoſtan.

Indoſtan then was governed by the viceroy and a council, appointed by Thamas Kouli-Khan. Mahamad, who ſtill retained the title of king of kings, and ſovereign of the univerſe, was a mere phantom. All things had now reſumed their common courſe, when Kouli-Khan was aſſaſſinated in Perſia in the midſt of his triumphs: ſince that the Mogul has ceaſed to pay the tribute, and the provinces which had been taken from the empire by the Perſian victor have been reannexed to it.

We are not to believe that this king of kings, Mahamad, was deſpotic before his misfortunes; Aurengzeb had made himſelf ſuch by vigilance, conqueſt, and cruelty. Deſpotiſm is a violent ſtate, which ſeems not capable of duration. It is impoſſible that in an empire where viceroys keep armies of twenty thouſand men in their pay, that theſe viceroys ſhould ever pay a long or blind obedience to their ſovereign. The lands which the emperor beſtows on theſe viceroys become from that inſtant independent of him. We muſt be careful how we give credit

credit to that erroneous aſſertion, that in India the product of the people's labours all belong to one man. There are ſeveral Indian caſts who ſtill preſerve their old poſſeſſions. The reſt of the lands have been given to the grandees of the empire, the rajas, the nabobs, and the omras. Theſe lands are cultivated as in other places, by farmers, who enrich themſelves by it, and by colons, who work for their maſters. The lower claſs of people are poor in India, notwithſtanding the riches of the country, as they are in almoſt every other part of the world; but they are not bond ſlaves, nor confined to a particular ſpot, as they were formerly in Europe, and ſtill continue to be in Poland, Bohemia, and ſeveral of the countries of Germany. The peaſant throughout all Aſia is at liberty to leave his native country whenever he is diſcontented wih his ſituation, and go in ſearch of a better where he can find it.

The ſum of what we have to ſay of India in general is, that it is governed as a conquered country by thirty tyrants who acknowledge an emperor, ſunk like themſelves into luxury and debauch, and who devour the ſubſtance of the people. There are no fixed courts of juſtice here, the depoſitaries of the laws, which protect the weak againſt the powerful.

It is a problem very difficult to ſolve, that the gold and ſilver which comes from America into Europe, ſhould be continually carried into Indoſtan, and there ſwallowed up, never again to appear: and that nevertheleſs the people ſhould be in general poor, and work almoſt for nothing. But the reaſon is, that the money does not go among the

people, it goes to the merchants, who pay immenſe duties to the governors; theſe governors give a great part of their profits to the great mogul, and hide the reſt. Man's labour is worſe payed in this, the richeſt country of the earth, than any where elſe; becauſe in every country the pay of a day labourer ſeldom exceeds his ſubſiſtance and cloathing; now the extreme fruitfulneſs of the ſoil in India, and the heat of the climate, make ſubſiſtance and cloathing come to little or nothing. The labourer who ſeeks for diamonds in the mines, earns enough to buy him a little rice, and a cotton ſhirt: in all countries the rich have the ſervices of the poor upon eaſy terms.

I ſhall not repeat what I have already ſaid of thoſe idolaters who are ſtill found in great numbers in India: their ſuperſtitions are the ſame as they were in Alexander's time. The Bramins teach the ſame religion; the women ſtill throw themſelves into the fire, which is lighted to burn their huſband's body, as has been frequently ſeen by our travellers and merchants. The diſciples of a ſect ſometimes make a point of honour of not ſurviving their maſters. Tavernier relates, that he was witneſs to a tranſaction of this nature, even in Agra, one of the capital cities of India. A bramin having died, an Indian merchant who had ſtudied under him, came to the Dutch lodge, ſettled his accounts with them, and told them that he was reſolved to follow his maſter into the other world, and actually ſtarved himſelf to death, in ſpite of all their endeavours to perſuade him to live.

One thing worthy of obſervation is, that the arts hardly ever go out of the families where they

they are cultivated: the daughters of artiſans never marry but with thoſe of their fathers trade. This is a very ancient cuſtom in Aſia, and was formerly a ſtanding law in Egypt.

The law in Aſia and Africa, which has always allowed a plurality of wives, cannot be put in practice by the poor people. The rich have always reckoned their wives as part of their fortunes, and have kept eunuchs to take care of them. This has been a cuſtom time out of mind in India, as well as throughout all Aſia. When the Jews wanted a king above three thouſand years ago, Samuel their magiſtrate and high prieſt, who oppoſed the eſtabliſhment of the regal power, remonſtrated to the Jews, that a king would lay taxes upon them for the ſupport of his eunuchs. Men muſt have been for a long time accuſtomed to ſlavery not to look upon ſuch a cuſtom as very extraordinary.

While I was about finiſhing this chapter, a new revolution has turned every thing upſide down in Indoſtan. The tributary princes, and the viceroys, have all ſhaken off the yoke. The people in the inland countries have dethroned their ſovereign. India, like Perſia, is become the ſeat of civil wars. Theſe diſaſters ſhew us, that the adminiſtration was very bad, and at the ſame time, that this pretended deſpotiſm had no real exiſtence. The emperor was not even powerful enough to make himſelf obeyed by a raja.

Our travellers have imagined that arbitrary power reſided eſſentially in the perſon of the great mogul, becauſe Aurengzeb ſubjected

every thing to his will. They have not conſidered that this power is founded wholly on the right of arms, and laſts no longer than he who exerciſes it has the command of a ſtrong army: and that this very deſpotiſm which deſtroys every thing, is likewiſe its own deſtroyer. It is not a form of government, but a ſubverſion of all government. It adopts caprice for rule, and does not ſupport itſelf by the laws, which can alone enſure its duration; and this coloſſus falls to the ground the inſtant its arm ceaſes to be outſtretched. From its ruins there ariſe ſeveral petty tyrannical governments, and the ſtate never reſumes a ſettled form till the laws are reſtored to their due functions.

CHAP. CXLIV.

Of CHINA in the Seventeenth Century, and at the beginning of the Eighteenth.

IT can certainly be of very little uſe to you to know that in the Chineſe dynaſty, which reigned after the Tartar dynaſty of Gengiscan, the emperor Quancum ſucceeded Kincum, and Kincum Quancum. It is ſufficient that theſe names are found in the chronological tables; but as you confine your attention wholly to events and manners, you will readily paſs over theſe void ſpaces to come at times diſtinguiſhed by great things. The ſame effeminacy which proved the ruin of Perſia and India occaſioned a more thorough revolution in China in the laſt century, than that brought about by

by Gengis-can and his ſons. The Chineſe empire, at the beginning of the ſeventeenth century was in a much happier ſtate than either India, Perſia, or Turky. It is not in human imagination to form a better plan of government than that by which the great courts of juſtice are regulated, who are all ſubordinate to one another, and whoſe members muſt undergo the ſtricteſt examination before they are admitted. Theſe courts regulate all matters in China. There are ſix ſupreme courts who preſide over all the other courts in the empire. The firſt inſpects into the conduct of all the mandarins; the ſecond manages the finances; the third ſuperintends the religious ceremonies, and the arts and ſciences; the fourth directs the affairs relative to war; the fifth overlooks the courts ſet apart for judging criminal cauſes; and the ſixth has the care of public works. The reſult of the ſeveral deciſions is carried before a ſupreme tribunal *. Under theſe ſix courts there are forty-four ſubaltern ones, who ſit at Pekin. Every mandarin of a province or a city is aſſiſted by a court. It is impoſſible that under ſuch an adminiſtration an emperor can ever exerciſe arbitrary power. He has indeed the making of the general laws; but, by the conſtitution of the ſtate, he can do nothing

* How can theſe ſix ſovereign courts be at the head of all the courts in the empire, if their deciſions are referred to one that is ſupreme? The truth is, there are two ſupreme councils, one ſtiled Extraordinary, conſiſting of the princes of the blood only; the other, Ordinary, compoſed of ſome princes of the blood, aſſiſted by a number of kolaws, or miniſters of ſtate: and to theſe ſupreme councils the other ſix tribunals are ſubordinate.

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without firſt conſulting men learned in the laws and choſen by ſuffrage. Although the emperor's ſubjects always proſtrate themſelves before him as if he was a God, and that the leaſt failure in reſpect to his perſon is puniſhed as an act of ſacrilege; ſtill this does not prove his government to be deſpotic and arbitrary. A deſpotic government * would be that where the prince may, without infringing the laws, deprive a ſubject of his fortune or life without form of trial, and for no other reaſon than that it is his will. Now, if ever there was a ſtate in which the life, honour, and fortune of the ſubject was under the protection of the laws, it is that of China. The greater the number of public bodies who are guardians of the laws, the leſs arbitrary is that government; and if the ſovereign ſometimes makes an ill uſe of his power againſt the few who are immediately under his cognizance, he cannot do ſo with reſpect to the multitude who are not known to him, and who live under the protection of the laws.

Huſbandry, which has been carried to a greater degree of perfection there than was ever known in Europe, ſufficiently ſhews that the people were not burthened with thoſe taxes which put a check to the induſtry of the huſbandman. The great numbers of thoſe employed in giving pleaſure to others, ſhew that

* That prince is deſpotic who aſſents to laws made for the regulation of his ſubjects; but can himſelf diſpenſe with thoſe laws for his own convenience or caprice, without being called in queſtion. That is a deſpotic government in which the people are bound by certain laws; but the prince is bound by none.

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the towns were as flouriſhing as the country was fertile. There is not a city in the empire which had not its feaſts and ſhews. They did not like us go to the play-houſes; they ſent for whole companies of comedians to their own houſes. The comic and tragic art was common among them, but without being in great perfection; for the ancients have not improved any of the arts of genius excepting morality; but they enjoyed to a degree of profuſion ſuch as they knew; and, in a word, were as happy as human nature can be.

This happineſs was ſucceeded in the year 1630, by the moſt terrible cataſtrophe and univerſal deſolation that could befall a ſtate. The family of the Tartar conquerors, deſcendants of Gengis-Can, had done what all other conquerors had endeavoured to do: they weakened a nation of conquerors, that they might not, while in poſſeſſion of the throne, have the ſame revolution to fear from the vanquiſhed that themſelves had cauſed. This dynaſty, which was that of Ivan, having been afterwards expelled by the dynaſty of Ming, the Tartars who lived to the northward of the great wall, were looked upon only as a kind of ſavages, from whence there was nothing to hope nor to fear. Beyond the great wall lies the kingdom of Leaotong, incorporated by the Gengis family with the empire of China, and become wholly Chineſe. To the north end of Leaotong, there were ſome herds of Mantchou Tartars, whom the viceroy of Leaotong treated with an oppreſſive ſeverity. They made ſome bold repreſentations, ſuch as we are told the Scythians did ever after the invaſion of their country by Cyrus; for the

the genius of a people is always the ſame till a long courſe of oppreſſion occaſions them to degenerate.

All the anſwer the governor made to their complaint was, to burn their cabbins, carry away their flocks, and endeavour to tranſplant the inhabitants. Then theſe Tartars, who were free, choſe a chief of their own to carry on a war againſt their oppreſſors. This chief, who was called Taitſou, ſoon made himſelf king: he beat the Chineſe, entered victorious into Leaotong, and took the capital by aſſault. 1622

This war was carried on in the ſame manner as thoſe of diſtant times. Fire arms were at that time unknown in this part of the world. The ancient arms were the only ones in uſe; ſuch as arrows, ſpears, clubs, and ſcimitars: they made a little uſe of bucklers and helmets; but there were very few coats of mail. Their fortifications conſiſted in a ditch, a wall, and towers upon it: they ſapped the wall, or mounted it by ſcaling ladders. The victory depended ſolely upon bodily ſtrength; and the Tartars, who were accuſtomed to ſleep in the open fields, muſt neceſſarily have the advantage over a people bred up in a more delicate manner.

Taitſou, the firſt chief of the Tartar hords, dying in the year 1626, at the beginning of his victories; his ſon Taitſong immediately took the title of Emperor of the Tartars, and put himſelf upon a level with the emperor of China. It is ſaid that he could read and write; and it appears that he acknowledged only one God, like the Chineſe literati; for he thus expreſſes himſelf in one of the circular letters which he wrote to the magiſtrates of the Chineſe provinces:

"Tien raiſes up whom he pleaſes; perhaps he may have choſen me to be your maſter." And, in fact, after the year 1628 Tien cauſed him to gain victory after victory. He was a man of great abilities; he civilized his brutal followers, to make them more obedient, and eſtabliſhed laws in the midſt of war. He always headed his troops in perſon; and the emperor of China, Hoaitſang, whoſe name has been loſt in obſcurity, remained ſhut up in his palace, with his women and eunuchs, and was the laſt emperor of the Chineſe race: he was not able to prevent Taitſong and his Tartars from taking from him all his northern provinces, nor yet to ſuppreſs the rebellion of one of his mandarins, named Liſtching, who ſeized upon the ſouthern ones. While the Tartars were ravaging the countries to the eaſtward and northward, this Liſtching made himſelf maſter of all the reſt. It is ſaid that he had ſix hundred thouſand horſemen, and four hundred thouſand infantry. He came with the flower of his army before Pekin, where the emperor ſtill continued ſhut up in his palace, and was ignorant of great part of what was doing. The rebel Liſtching, (for he is ſo called, as not having ſucceeded,) ſent back to the emperor two of his chief eunuchs whom he had made priſoners, with a very ſhort letter, in which he exhorted him to quit the empire.

And here we may ſee an inſtance of the Aſiatic pride, and how well it agrees with the general effeminacy of their manners. The emperor ordered the two eunuchs to have their heads ſtruck off, for having brought him a diſreſpectful letter; and his courtiers had much ado to make him ſenſible that the heads of the prin-

ces of the blood, and a great number of mandarins, whom Liſtching had in his power, would be made to anſwer for the death of the eunuchs.

While the emperor was deliberating upon what anſwer he ſhould ſend back, Liſtching had already entered the city. The empreſs had barely time enough to ſave ſome of her ſons; after which ſhe ſhut herſelf up in her apartment, and there hanged herſelf. The emperor immediately ran thither, and being greatly taken with this inſtance of conjugal fidelity, he exhorted the reſt of his wives, to the number of forty, to follow the example. Father Mailla, the Jeſuit, who wrote this account in Pekin itſelf, in the laſt century, ſays, that all theſe women obeyed without replying; but it is very poſſible that there might be a few of them who wanted aſſiſtance. The emperor, whom this writer repreſents as a very good kind of a prince, perceiving, after the execution, his only daughter, about fifteen years old, whom the empreſs had not thought proper to expoſe out of the ſeraglio, he exhorted her to hang herſelf, as well as her mother and mothers-in-law; but the young princeſs deſiring to be excuſed, this very good prince, as Mailla calls him, gave her a violent blow with his ſabre, and left her dead. It may be expected that ſuch a father and an huſband would have ſlain himſelf upon the dead bodies of his wives and his daughter; but he retired to a pavillion without the city, to wait for news; and being at length informed that every thing was deſperate, and that Liſtching had taken poſſeſſion of his palace, he ſtrangled himſelf, and at once put an end to

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an empire and a life which he had not had the courage to defend *. This extraordinary event happened in the year 1641. It was under this laſt emperor of the Chineſe race that the Jeſuits at length made their way into the court of Pekin. Father Adam Schall, a native of Cologne, had ſo far gained the good graces of this emperor, by his knowledge in phyſicks and the mathematics, that he made him a mandarin. He was the firſt who ſhewed the Chineſe how to caſt braſs cannon; but the few that were in Pekin were not ſufficient to ſave the empire:

* This cataſtrophe is differently related by father Duhalde and Palafox. This laſt ſays, that the emperor being abandoned even by his guards, retired with his empreſs into a ſmall wood, incapable of uttering one word, ſuch was the exceſs of his grief. The empreſs, having tenderly embraced him, hanged herſelf with a ſilken cord. The emperor having drank a glaſs of wine, though at other times averſe to that liquor, bit his own finger, to produce an effuſion of blood, with which he wrote a long letter, complaining of the treachery of his officers, lamenting the ruin of his empire, and the extinction of his family; concluding with this declaration, that as he had loſt every thing for which he choſe to live, he thought it high time to part with life itſelf. Duhalde ſays, he wrote the following ſentence on the border of his veſt: "I have been baſely deſerted by my ſubjects: do what you will with me, but ſpare my people." Then he cut off his daughter's head with one ſtroke of his ſcymetar, and hanged himſelf. The traitor Li inſulted his body, and murdered all his ſurviving children, except his eldeſt ſon, who eſcaped. U-ſang-ghey, who commanded the imperial forces, in the province of Lyan-tong, inſtead of acknowledging the uſurper, made peace with the Manchew Tartars, and their king, Tſong-te, joined him with fourſcore thouſand men. Li fled from Pekin; and Tſong-te dying, was ſucceeded by his infant ſon, Sun-chi, who, in proceſs of time aſcended the imperial throne of China.

beſides, they did uot know how to manage them. Mandarin Schall left Pekin before the revolution.

After the emperor's death, the Tartars and the rebels diſputed the empire with each other. The Tartars were united and diſciplined, the Chineſe divided and undiſciplined. They were obliged to give way by little and little to the Tartars. That nation had taken a kind of ſpirit of ſuperiority which did not depend upon their leader: it was with them as it had been with Mahomet's Arabians, who were ſo formidable of themſelves for upwards of three hundred years.

The death of emperor Taitſong, whom the Tartars loſt at that time, did not prevent them from purſuing their conqueſts. They choſe one of his nephews, who was yet a child, in his ſtead: this was Chang-ti, father of the famous Camg-hi, under whom the Chriſtian religion has made ſuch a progreſs in China. Theſe people, who had firſt taken up arms in defence of their liberty, were not acquainted with hereditary right. We ſee that all nations have begun by chuſing perſons to head them in war, and afterwards theſe chiefs have become abſolute, excepting in ſome of the European nations. Hereditary right has been eſtabliſhed and made ſacred by time.

A minority has been the ruin of almoſt all conquerors, and yet it was during the minority of Chang-ti that the Tartars completed the reduction of China. The uſurper, Liſtching, was ſlain by another Chineſe uſurper, who pretended to revenge the death of the late emperor. Several of the provinces ſet up true or falſe chil-

children of their dead prince, like the Demetrius's in Ruſſia. The Chineſe mandarins endeavoured to uſurp the provinces; but the more powerful Tartarian uſurpers at length got the better of all. There was a Chineſe general, who for ſome time checked their progreſs, by having a few cannon which he had procured either from the Portugueſe of Macao, or which were ſome of thoſe caſt by the Jeſuit Schall. It is very remarkable that the Tartars, who were entirely deſtitute of artillery, ſhould prevail over thoſe who were provided with it: this was the very reverſe of what happened in the new world, and a proof of the ſuperiority of the northern people over thoſe of the ſouth.

What is moſt ſurpriſing is, that the Tartars conquered all this vaſt empire of China, foot by foot, and under a minority; for their young emperor Chang-ti, dying in 1661, when barely twenty-four years old, and before their dominion was firmly eſtabliſhed, they elected his ſon Camg-hi at eight years old, being the ſame age at which they had choſen his father; and this Camg-hi reſtored the empire of China, having been ſo prudent and fortunate as to make himſelf equally well obeyed both by the Chineſe and Tartars. The miſſionaries, whom he made mandarins, have extolled him as a perfect prince. Some travellers, and eſpecially Le Gentil, who were not mandarins, ſay that he was ſordidly covetous, and full of caprices; but theſe ſtrokes of private character do not enter into this general picture of the world. It is ſufficient that the empire was happy under this prince; it is in this view that we are to regard and judge of kings.

During the courſe of this revolution, which laſted thirty years, one of the greateſt mortifications the Chineſe underwent was, that their conquerors obliged them to cut off their hair after the Tartarian manner. There were ſome who choſe to die rather than part with their heads of hair. We have had an inſtance of the Muſcovites raiſing ſeveral ſeditions when czar Peter I. obliged them to cut off their beards; ſo forcible is cuſtom among the common people!

Time has not yet confounded the victorious with the vanquiſhed people, as has happened in our Gaul, in England, and elſewhere.

Under the reign of Camg-hi, the European miſſionaries enjoyed a great degree of credit; ſeveral were lodged in the emperor's palace; they built churches, and had opulent houſes. In America they had been ſucceſsful in teaching the neceſſary arts to ſavages. In China they had taught the moſt refined arts to a learned and ſenſible nation. But jealouſy ſoon deſtroyed the fruits of their wiſdom, and that reſtleſſneſs and contentious ſpirit, which is in Europe inſeparably connected with learning and talents, overthrew the greateſt deſigns.

The Chineſe were aſtoniſhed to ſee wiſe and learned men diſagreeing even about what they came to teach, and mutually perſecuting and anathematizing one another, entering criminal proceſſes againſt each other, at the court of Rome, and ſtriving to have it decided in a meeting of cardinals, whether the emperor of China underſtood his own mother tongue as well as miſſionaries who were come from France and Italy.

Theſe

Theſe diſputes were carried to ſuch a length, that the Chineſe government feared or affected to fear the ſame diſorders as had been raiſed in Japan. Camg-hi's ſucceſſor therefore forbid the exerciſe of the chriſtian religion, while the Mahometans and all the different ſects of bonzes were permitted to follow theirs. But this court finding the want of the mathematics as great an evil as the pretended danger from a new religion, retained the mathematicians, and contented itſelf with impoſing ſilence on the miſſionaries.

There is one event which well merits our attention; this is the famous earthquake which happened in China in the year 1699, in the reign of the emperor Camg-hi. This phænomenon proved more fatal than that which of late years deſtroyed the cities of Lima and Liſbon. It is ſaid that near four hundred thouſand ſouls periſhed in it. Theſe ſhocks muſt neceſſarily have been very frequent in our globe: the number of volcano's which vomit out fire and ſmoke, give reaſon to think that the outward ſhell of the earth reſts upon vaſt gulphs filled with an inflammable matter. It is probable that the part which we inhabit has experienced as many revolutions from phyſical cauſes, as the nations of the world in general have from rapaciouſneſs and ambition.

CHAP. CLXV.

Of JAPAN, in the Seventeenth Century.

IN the multitude of revolutions which we have ſeen from one end of the univerſe to the other, there appears to have been a fated chain of cauſes by which mankind have been carried away, as the waves and ſands are driven by the wind. What has happened in Japan is an additional proof of it: a Portugueſe prince, without either power or riches, in the fifteenth century, conceives the notion of ſending a few ſhips to the coaſt of Africa. Soon afterwards the Portugueſe diſcover Japan. Spain, for a while the ſovereign of Portugal, carries on an immenſe trade with the Japaneſe. The Chriſtian religion is carried into that country by the means of this trade; and, under favour of the general toleration allowed to all ſects in Aſia, introduces and eſtabliſhes itſelf there. Three Chriſtian princes of Japan make a journey to Rome to kiſs the feet of pope Gregory XIII. Chriſtianity is on the point of becoming the prevailing religion of Japan, and in a ſhort time the only one, when its very power proved the means of its deſtruction. We have already remarked, that the miſſionaries had a number of enemies there; but they had likewiſe ſecured a powerful party in their favour. The bonzes feared the loſs of their ancient poſſeſſions, and the emperor that of his kingdom. The Spaniards had made themſelves maſters of the Philippine iſlands in the neighbourhood of Japan. The Japaneſe knew how they had acted

acted in America; no wonder therefore that they took the alarm. The emperor, in the year 1586, had baniſhed the Chriſtian religion from his dominions, and had forbidden the practice of it by his ſubjects, under pain of death; but as they ſtill allowed a trade to be carried on with the Portugueſe and Spaniards, their miſſionaries made proſelytes as faſt as the government condemned them. It was then forbidden to introduce any Chriſtian prieſts into the country; but notwithſtanding this prohibition, the governor of the Philippine iſlands ſent Franciſcan friars, in character of ambaſſadors to the emperor of Japan. Theſe ambaſſadors began by building a public chapel in the capital city, called Meaco; upon which they were driven out of the kingdom, and the perſecution was redoubled. There was for a long time a viciſſitude of cruelties and indulgence. It is plain that reaſons of ſtate were the ſole motives to theſe perſecutions; and that the Chriſtian religion was oppoſed from the apprehenſion that it would be made an inſtrument to favour the deſigns of the Spaniards; for the religion of Confucius was never perſecuted by the Japaneſe, tho' introduced by a people of whom they were jealous, and with whom they were frequently at war. That learned and judicious obſerver, Kempfer, tells us, that in the year 1674 the inhabitants of Meaco being numbered, there were found twelve different religions in that capital, who all lived peaceably; and that theſe twelve ſects contained upwards of four hundred thouſand people, excluſive of the numerous court of the Dairi, the ſovereign pontiff. It ſeems then, that if the Portugueſe and Spaniards could have

contented themſelves with liberty of conſcience, they might have lived as quietly in Japan as the other twelve religions; and, even in the year 1636, they continued to carry on a very profitable trade, ſeeing that they carried over to Macao two thouſand three hundred and fifty cheſts of ſilver.

The Dutch, who had traded to Japan ever ſince the year 1600, were grown jealous of the traffic carried on by the Spaniards. In 1637 they took a Spaniſh ſhip off the Cape of Good Hope, bound from Japan to Liſbon, on board of which they found ſeveral letters from a Portugueſe officer named Moro, who was a kind of conſul to that nation. Theſe letters contained the plan of an intended conſpiracy of the Chriſtians in Japan againſt the emperor, ſpecifying the number of ſhips and troops they expected from Europe and the ſettlements in Aſia, in order to make the ſcheme ſucceed. Theſe letters were ſent by the Dutch to the court of Japan: Moro owned his hand-writing, and was publicly burnt. Upon this diſcovery the government choſe rather to renounce all the advantages of a trade with ſtrangers, than to ſee itſelf expoſed to ſuch machinations. The emperor, in an aſſembly of all the grandees of his kingdom, enacted the famous edict, by which it was enacted, that no Japaneſe ſhould for the future preſume to ſtir out of the country, under penalty of death; that no ſtranger ſhould be admitted into the empire; that all the Spaniards and Portugueſe be ſent away; that all the natives who were Chriſtians ſhould be impriſoned, and that a reward of one thouſand

crowns

crowns ſhould be given to any one who ſhould diſcover a Chriſtian prieſt. The violence of this procedure in the Japaneſe, who voluntarily ſeparated themſelves from the reſt of the world, and gave up all the profits of trade, leaves no room to doubt that the conſpiracy was real: but what proves it ſtill more fully, is, that the Chriſtian natives, with ſome few Portugueſe at their head, actually aſſembled in arms to the number of thirty thouſand and more; they were defeated in the year 1638, and retired to a ſtrong hold on the ſea-ſide, in the neighbourhood of the port of Nangazaki.

At the ſame time all other foreign nations were driven from Japan; even the Chineſe were included in this general law, becauſe ſome miſſionaries had boaſted to the Japaneſe, that all China was on the point of being converted to Chriſtianity. The Dutch themſelves, who had diſcovered the conſpiracy, were expelled as well as the reſt; the factory which they had at that time at Ferando was already demoliſhed; their ſhips were ſailed; and only one remained, whom the government ſummoned to fire upon the fortreſs, whither the Chriſtians had fled for refuge. The Dutch captain, whoſe name was Kokbeker, performed this horrid ſervice. The Chriſtians were ſoon forced in their aſylum, and put to death with the moſt excruciating tortures. Once more let me obſerve, that when we repreſent to ourſelves ſuch ſtrange events, cauſed in Japan by a Portugueſe and a Dutch captain, we cannot but be convinced of the reſtleſs ſpirit of the Europeans, and of the deſtiny which influences all nations.

The odious ſervice which the Dutch had performed for the Japaneſe government did not procure them that indulgence they expected from it, which was, to be allowed a free trade and ſettlements there; however, they obtained permiſſion to land upon a little iſland near the port of Nangazaki, and there bring a fixed quantity of merchandize.

But they were obliged to trample upon the croſs, and renounce all marks of Chriſtianity, and likewiſe to ſwear that they were not of the ſame religion with the Portugueſe, before they were admitted into this little iſland, where they live as it were in a priſon; for as ſoon as they arrive the inhabitants take poſſeſſion of their ſhips and goods, upon which they ſet a price. Thus, for the ſake of getting money, they ſubject themſelves every year to this confinement; and thoſe who are kings at Batavia, and in the Molucca Iſlands, ſuffer themſelves to be here treated as ſlaves: it is true, they are conducted from this little iſland to the emperor's court, and are honourably and courteouſly received wherever they come, but ſtrictly guarded and obſerved. Their guides and their guards engage in a written oath, ſigned with their blood, to obſerve all the actions of the Dutch, and give an exact account of them.

It has been aſſerted in ſeveral books, that the Dutch abjured Chriſtianity at Japan. This opinion had its ſource in the adventure of a Dutchman, who made his eſcape and lived for ſome time among the natives; but being diſcovered, in order to ſave his life he ſaid he was no Chriſtian, but a Dutchman. The government

ment of Japan has, ſince this revolution, forbid the building of veſſels fit for going to ſea; they have only long barks, worked with ſails and oars, for trading to their iſlands. It is looked upon as the greateſt of crimes for ſtrangers to frequent the country; it ſeems that they are ſtill in dread of the danger they have been in. This fear neither agrees with the courage of the nation, nor with the greatneſs of the empire; but the horror of the paſt has operated more with them than the fear of the future. The conduct of the Japaneſe has been, in every reſpect, that of a people generous, open, haughty, and extreme in their reſolutions. At firſt they received ſtrangers with cordiality; and when they thought themſelves inſulted and betrayed by them, they broke off all connections for ever.

When Colbert, that miniſter of immortal memory, firſt erected an Eaſt-India company in France, he wanted to try if he could not bring about a trade for the French with Japan, by employing only proteſtants, who might ſafely ſwear that they were not of the ſame religion with the Portugueſe; but the Dutch oppoſed this ſcheme, and the Japaneſe, ſatisfied with receiving one nation amongſt them whom they treat as priſoners, would not admit of two *.

I ſhall

* The reader will perceive that this is a very imperfect picture of Japan, as our author has ſaid nothing relating to the conſtitution of the government, the laws of the realm, and the genius of the people. Abſolute power was, from time immemorial, exerciſed by the emperors called Dairo, who reigned in a regular ſucceſſion till the year 1500, when

I ſhall not take any notice here of the kingdom of Siam, which has been repreſented to us as much larger and more opulent than it really is. We ſhall find in the age of Lewis XIV. what little is neceſſary to be known concerning it. Corea, Cochin-China, Tonquin, Laos, Ava, and Pegu, are countries of which we have very little knowledge; and, amidſt the prodigious number of iſlands ſcattered about the extremities of Aſia, there is only that of Java, where the Dutch have fixed the center of their dominion and trade, that can enter into the plan of our general hiſtory. The ſame may be ſaid of the people who inhabit the middle part of Africa, and an infinite number of ſmaller nations in the new world. I ſhall only

a civil war broke out and involved the whole empire in confuſion: during this anarchy, a common ſoldier raiſed himſelf to the imperial dignity, and diveſting the Dairo of all his temporal power, allowed him to preſide over all religious matters. Since that period the ſucceſſors of the Dairo have been reſpected as popes; but the deſcendants from the uſurper have retained all the authority of emperor, though they are modeſt enough to call themſelves Cubo, which ſignifies miniſter or vizir. The national religion of Japan is the idolatry of the Bonzes; but a great number of other ſects are tolerated: yet all theſe ſects agree in holding five reſtrictions abſolutely binding, viz. not to kill; nor eat any thing that is killed; not to ſteal; not to commit adultery; not to lye; and not to drink wine. The Japaneſe have few written laws; but the emperor's will is the ſupreme law; and every petty prince, governor, or head of a family, has the power of life and death over thoſe that he governs. The Japaneſe are acute, ingenious, induſtrious, modeſt, patient, and covetous; but on the other hand, they are ſaid to be ambitious, cruel and vindictive, uncharitable, unfeeling, and addicted to the moſt ſpurious paſſions, which they publicly gratify with impunity.

obſerve,

obſerve, that before the ſixteenth century, above one half of the globe was ignorant of the uſe of bread and wine, which is ſtill unknown to a gart of America and the eaſtern part of Africa; inſomuch that we are obliged to carry both thoſe viands thither to celebrate the myſteries of our religion.

Cannibals are much more rare than is uſually aſſerted; none have been ſeen by any of our travellers for above theſe fifty years. There are many kinds of men manifeſtly different from each other. Several nations ſtill live in the ſtate of pure nature; and while we make the tour of the world to diſcover in their countries wherewithal to ſatisfy our greedineſs, theſe people are not at the trouble of informing themſelves whether there exiſt any other men than themſelves, and paſs their lives in a happy indolence, which to us would be a degree of miſery.

Much yet remains for our vain curioſity to diſcover; but if we would confine ourſelves to what is uſeful, there is already but too much diſcovered.

THE

AGE of LEWIS XIV.

BEING

Mr. VOLTAIRE's

GENERAL HISTORY

CONTINUED.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

AGE of LEWIS XIV.

IT is not only the LIFE OF LEWIS XIV. that we propoſe to write; we have a greater object in view. We mean to ſet before poſterity not only the portrait of one man's actions, but of the ſpirit of mankind in general, in the moſt enlightened of all ages.

Every age has produced heroes and politicians; all nations have experienced revolutions, and all hiſtories are nearly alike, to thoſe who ſeek only to furniſh their memories with facts; but whoſoever thinks, or, what is ſtill more rare, whoſoever has taſte, will find but four ages in the hiſtory of the world. Theſe four happy ages are thoſe in which the arts were carried to perfection; and which, by ſerving as the æra of the greatneſs of the human mind, are examples for poſterity.

The firſt of theſe ages to which true glory is annexed, is that of Philip and Alexander, or that of a Pericles, a Demoſthenes, an Ariſtotle, a Plato, an Apelles, a Phidias, and a Praxiteles; and this honour has been confined within the limits of ancient Greece; the reſt of the known world was then in a ſtate of barbariſm.

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The ſecond age is that of Cæſar and Auguſtus, diſtinguiſhed likewiſe by the names of Lucretius, Cicero, Titus Livius, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Varro, and Vitruvius.

The third is that which followed the taking of Conſtantinople by Mahomet II. Then a family of private citizens was ſeen to do that which the kings of Europe ought to have undertaken. The Medicis invited to Florence the learned, who had been driven out of Greece by the Turks; this was the age of Italy's glory. The polite arts had already recovered a new life in that country; the Italians honoured them with the title of Vertu, as the firſt Greeks had diſtinguiſhed them by the name of Wiſdom. Every thing tended towards perfection; a Michael Angelo *, a Raphael †, a Titian ‡, a Taſſo, and

* Michael Angelo Buonaroti flouriſhed in the fifteenth century, and was univerſally admired for his excellence in the three ſiſter-arts, of painting, ſtatuary, and architecture. He was born of a good family in the county of Arezzo, ſtudied deſign or drawing under Dominicho Ghirlandajo, and at the age of ſixteen began to cut ſtatues in marble, that even bore a compariſon with the antique. He was patronized by Laurentio de Mediciis at Florence, that great patron of the arts. After the death of Laurentio he went to Rome, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by many capital performances. He was the moſt perfect anatomiſt of his time; had a grand guſto in deſign, and excelled all his cotemporaries in painting naked figures; but his manner was dry, and in every other branch of the art he fell far ſhort of Raphael, whoſe genius excited his envy. His moſt famous picture is that of the laſt judgment; and his maſterpiece in architecture the celebrated church of St. Peter. In order to expoſe the falſe taſte of thoſe who would allow no merit to modern artiſts, he privately finiſhed the ſtatue of a Cupid, and buried it under ground, in a place which he knew

and an Arioſto flouriſhed. The art of engraving was invented; elegant architecture appeared again

knew would ſoon be dug, after having broke off and reſerved one of the arms. The ſtatue was accordingly found, and judged by all the connoiſſeurs to be a genuine antique: then the artiſt produced the arm, and claimed the honour of the work. He made the model of a coloſſal ſtatue for pope Julius II. with ſuch a haughty countenance and commanding attitude, that the pontiff aſked whether he had raiſed the right arm in the act of beſtowing the benediction, or denouncing the anathema? He replied, that he was in the attitude of warning the people of Bologna to be more prudent for the future. Then he aſked in his turn, if he ſhould put a book in this right-hand? "No, (ſaid the pope) put a ſword in it, I don't pretend to be a man of letters." Michael Angelo was not only painter, ſtatuary, and architect, but likewiſe a tolerable poet, and his works were publiſhed at Florence. The following diſtich is no bad repreſentation of his character.

Quis pinxit melius, quis ſtruxit, duxit in ære,
Marmora quis ſculpſit, doctius aut cecinit?

He was reſpected and beloved by Leo X. Clement VII. and a ſucceſſion of popes, as well as by all the civilized princes of his time, Francis I. of France, Charles V. emperor of Germany and king of Spain, Coſmo de Medicis, the Venetian republic, and even Solyman the grand ſignor. He lived to the age of ninety, died at Rome in 1564, and was interred with great funeral pomp at Florence.

† Raphael D'Urbino, whoſe real name was Sanzio, lived cotemporary with Buonaroti, and excelled him in compoſition, beauty, grace, and expreſſion. He was the ſon of a painter at Urbino, and ſtudied under Pietro Perugino, whoſe manner however he renounced, as ſoon as he beheld the works of Leonardi da Vinci and Michael Angelo at Florence. He was recommended to pope Leo X. by his kinſman Bramante, and employed in painting the apartments of the Vatican, where the firſt picture he finiſhed was the ſchool of Athens. The greatneſs of his manner he is ſaid to have ſtolen from ſketches of Buonaroti in the chapel of Sixtus IV. to which his friend Bramante introduced him privately.

again as admirable as in the moſt triumphant ages of Rome; and the Gothic barbariſm, which had

privately, againſt the expreſs prohibition of Michael Angelo. Certain it is, he became the prince of painters, was careſſed by all the world, and when he went abroad he always appeared attended by a concourſe of men of taſte and literature. Buonaroti meeting him one day accompanied in this manner, told him he walked with a retinue like the provoſt-marſhal; "And you (ſaid Raphael) walk all alone like the executioner of the law." Buonaroti was in his diſpoſition proud, haughty, and inſolent; whereas Raphael recommended himſelf to every body's affection, by his affability, generoſity, and ſweetneſs of demeanour. The cardinal of St. Bibiano offered him his niece in marriage; but, he expected a hat for himſelf from pope Leo, and in the mean time died in the thirty-ſeventh year of his age, in conſequence of a fever ſaid to be caught by intemperate venery. He was buried in the rotunda, where his tomb is diſtinguiſhed by the following epitaph, which cardinal Bembo wrote, and Mr. Pope has tranſlated into Engliſh, in honour of Sir Godfrey Kneller.

Ille hic eſt Raphael, timuit quo ſoſpite vinci
Rerum magna parens, et moriente mori.

Living, great nature fear'd he would outvie
Her works; and dying, fears herſelf will die.

The ſentiment is truly bombaſt. Another epitaph, but one degree more modeſt, was written on Raphael by the celebrated Muretus.

‡ Titian Vecelli was born in the ſtate of Venice, in the year 1477, and ſtudied painting under Bellini, whom he ſoon ſurpaſſed, as he alſo did Giorgione. His pictures were greatly admired for his exquiſite manner of colouring. He refuſed a conſiderable employment at Rome, and was created knight and count-palatine by the emperor Charles V. who ſitting one day for his picture, Titian chanced to drop his pencil; which Charles took up, and preſenting it to the artiſt, "Titian (ſaid he) is worthy to be ſerved even by Cæſar." He was alſo viſited and careſſed

had disfigured Europe in every kind of production, was driven from Italy to make way for good taſte.

The arts, always tranſplanted from Greece to Italy, found themſelves in a favourable ſoil, where they inſtantly produced fruit. France, England, Germany, and Spain, aimed in their turns to gather theſe fruits; but either they could not live in thoſe climates, or elſe they degenerated very faſt.

Francis I. encouraged learned men, but ſuch as were merely learned men; he had architects, but he had no Michael Angelo, nor Paladio *; he endeavoured in vain to eſtabliſh ſchools for painting; the Italian maſters, whom he invited to France, raiſed no pupils there. Some epigrams, and a few looſe tales, made the whole of our poetry. Rabelais † was the only proſe writer in vogue in the time of Henry II.

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fed by Henry III. of France; and celebrated by Arioſto, Marini, and other poets. In a word, he lived in great ſplendour, and died of the plague in the year 1576.

* Andrea Palladio was a native of Vicenza, and flouriſhed in the ſixteenth century. He finiſhed his ſtudies at Rome, where he made himſelf maſter of the antique, and became the greateſt architect in the world. He firſt publiſhed a commentary on all the works of antiquity at Rome; and in the year 1570 printed his four books on architecture, replete with taſte and erudition.

† Francis Rabelais, born at Chinon in Touraine, lived in the ſixteenth century. He was firſt a Cordelier, and afterwards a phyſician. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his knowledge of the languages; but his chief recommendation was his humour. He publiſhed a Latin tranſlation of the aphoriſms of Hippocrates, and ſeveral other ſerious performances, which are now forgotten: but his hiſtory of Pantagruel is ſtill admired by all thoſe who have any taſte for humour

In a word, the Italians alone were in poſſeſſion of every thing that was beautiful, excepting muſic, which was then but in a rude ſtate, and experimental philoſophy, which was every where equally unknown.

Laſtly, the fourth age is that known by the name of the age of Lewis XIV. and is perhaps that which approaches the neareſt to perfection of all the four; enriched by the diſcoveries of the three former ones, it has done greater things in certain kinds than thoſe three together. All the arts indeed were not carried farther than under the Medicis, Auguſtus, and Alexander; but human reaſon in general was more improved. In this age we firſt became acquainted with ſound philoſophy; it may truly be ſaid that to begin from the laſt years of cardinal Richelieu's adminiſtration, till thoſe which followed the death of Lewis XIV. that there has happened ſuch a general revolution in our arts, our genius, our manners, and even in our government, that will ſerve as an immortal mark to the true

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humour and ſatire. He was celebrated by all the wits of his time, ſuch as Buda, Clement Marot, du Bellay, and de Baif. He died at the age of ſeventy, in the year 1553, and was honoured with divers epitaphs, of which the following ſeems to be the beſt adapted.

Pluton, prince du noir empire,
Ou les tiens ne rient jamais,
Recois aujourd'hui Rabelais,
Et vous aurez tous de quoi rire.

He was a favourite with La Fontaine, who being one day in company with the two Boileaus and Racine, when the converſation turned upon St. Auguſtine, he ſeemed to wake from a profound reverie, and turning to Boileau the doctor, aſked very gravely, if he thought Rabelais was not a greater wit than St. Auguſtine?

glory

glory of our country. This happy influence has not been confined to France; it has communicated itſelf to England, where it has ſtirred up an emulation, which that ingenious and deeply learned nation ſtood in need of at that time; it has introduced taſte into Germany, and the ſciences into Ruſſia; it has even reanimated Italy, which was languiſhing; and Europe is indebted for its politeneſs and ſpirit of ſociety to the court of Lewis XIV.

Before this time the Italians called all the people on this ſide the Alps by the name of Barbarians; it muſt be owned, that the French in ſome degree deſerved this reproachful epithet. Our forefathers joined the romantic gallantry of the Moors with the Gothic rudeneſs: they had hardly any of the agreeable arts amongſt them, which is a proof that the uſeful arts were likewiſe neglected; for when once the things of uſe are carried to perfection, the tranſition is quickly made to the elegant and the agreeable; and it is not at all aſtoniſhing, that painting, ſculpture, poetry, eloquence, and philoſophy, ſhould be in a manner unknown to a nation, who, tho' poſſeſſed of harbours on the Weſtern Ocean, and the Mediteranean Sea, were without ſhips; and who, though fond of luxury to an exceſs, were hardly provided with the moſt common manufactures.

The Jews, the Genoeſe, the Venetians, the Portugueſe, the Flemiſh, the Dutch, and the Engliſh, carried on in their turns the trade of France, who was ignorant even of the firſt principles of commerce. Lewis XIII. at his acceſſion to the crown had not a ſingle ſhip; the city of Paris contained not quite four hundred

dred thouſand men, and had not above four fine public edifices; the other cities of the kingdom reſembled thoſe pitiful villages which we ſee on the other ſide the Loire. The nobility, who were all ſtationed in the country, in dungeons ſurrounded with deep ditches, oppreſſed the peaſant who cultivated the land. The high roads were almoſt impaſſable; the towns were deſtitute of police, and the government had hardly ever any credit among foreign nations.

We muſt acknowledge, that ever ſince the decline of the Carlovingian family, France had languiſhed more or leſs in this infirm ſtate, merely for want of the benefit of a good adminiſtration.

For a ſtate to be powerful, the people muſt either enjoy a liberty founded on the laws, or the royal authority muſt be fixed beyond all oppoſition. In France the people were ſlaves till the reign of Philip Auguſtus; the noblemen were tyrants till Lewis XI; and the kings, always employed in maintaining their authority againſt their vaſſals, had neither leaſure to think about the happineſs of their ſubjects, nor the power of making them happy.

Lewis XI. did a great deal for the regal power, but nothing for the happineſs or glory of the nation. Francis I. gave birth to trade, navigation, and all the arts; but he was too unfortunate to make them take root in the nation during his time, ſo that they all periſhed with him. Henry the Great was on the point of raiſing France from the calamities and barbariſms in which ſhe had been plunged by thirty years of diſcord, when he was aſſaſſinated in his

his capital, in the midſt of a people whom he had begun to make happy. The cardinal de Richelieu, buſied in humbling the houſe of Auſtria, the Calviniſts, and the grandees, did not enjoy a power ſufficiently undiſturbed to reform the nation; but he had at leaſt the honour of beginning this happy work.

Thus, for the ſpace of 900 years, our genius has been almoſt always reſtrained under a Gothic government, in the midſt of diviſions and civil wars; deſtitute of any laws or fixed cuſtoms, changing, every ſecond century, a language, which ſtill continued rude and unformed; the nobles were without diſcipline, and ſtrangers to every thing but war and idleneſs. The clergy lived in diſorder and ignorance, and the common people without induſtry, and ſtupified in their wretchedneſs.

The French had no ſhare either in the great diſcoveries, or admirable inventions of other nations: they have no title to the diſcoveries of painting, gun-powder, glaſſes, teleſcopes, the ſector, compaſs, the air-pump, or the true ſyſtem of the univerſe; they were making tournaments, while the Portugueſe and Spaniards were diſcovering and conquering new countries from the eaſt to the weſt of the known world. Charles V. had already ſcattered the treaſures of Mexico over Europe, before the ſubjects of Francis I. had diſcovered the uncultivated country of Canada; but, by the little which the French did in the beginning of the ſixteenth century, we may ſee what they are capable of when properly conducted.

I propoſe in this place to ſhew what they have been

been under Lewis XIV. and it is to be wiſhed that the poſterity of this monarch, and that of his ſubjects, equally animated with an happy emulation, may uſe their endeavours to ſurpaſs their anceſtors.

It muſt not be expected to meet here with a minute detail of the wars carried on in this age: this would be an endleſs taſk; we are obliged to leave to the compilers of annals, the care of collecting, with exactneſs, all theſe ſmall facts, which would only ſerve to divert the attention from the principal object. It is their province to point out the marches and counter-marches of armies, and the particular days on which the trenches were opened before towns, which were taken and retaken again by force of arms, or ceded and reſtored by treaties. A thouſand circumſtances which are intereſting to thoſe who live at the time, are loſt to the eyes of poſterity, and diſappear, to make room for the great events which have determined the fate of empires*. Every tranſaction is not worthy of being committed to writing. In this hiſtory we ſhall confine ourſelves only to what is deſerving of the attention of all ages, what paints the genius and manners of mankind, contributes to inſtruction, and prompts to the love of virtue, of the arts, and of our country.

We have already ſeen what France and the other kingdoms of Europe were, before the birth

* Yet thoſe very events, the recital of which our author ſeems to deſpiſe, have not only influenced the deſtiny of empires, but even ſtrongly marked the character and underſtanding of the times in which they happened.

of

of Lewis XIV. we ſhall now deſcribe the great political and military events of his reign. The interior government of the kingdom, as being an object of more importance to the people, ſhall be treated of by itſelf. The private life of Lewis XIV. and the particular anecdotes of his court, and reign, ſhall hold a principal place in this account. There ſhall be other articles for the arts and ſciences, and for the progreſs of the human mind in this age. Laſtly, we ſhall ſpeak of the church, which has been ſo long connected with the government, has ſometimes diſturbed its peace, and at others been its defence; and which, though inſtituted for the inculcating of morality, too frequently gives itſelf up to politics and the impulſe of the human paſſions.

THE AGE of LEWIS XIV.

CHAP. CLXVI.

Of the STATES of EUROPE before LEWIS XIV.

FOR a long time paſt the Chriſtian part of Europe (Muſcovy excepted) might be conſidered as a great republic divided into ſeveral ſtates, ſome of which were monarchical, others mixt, ſome ariſtocratical, and others popular; but all correſponding with one another; all having the ſame baſis of religion, though divided into ſeveral ſects, and acknowledging the ſame principles of public and political equity, which were unknown to the other parts of the world. It is from theſe principles that the European nations do not make ſlaves of their priſoners; that they reſpect the perſons of their enemies ambaſſadors; that they agree together concerning the pre-eminence, and ſome other rights belonging to certain princes; ſuch as the emperor, kings, and other leſſer potentates: and particularly in the prudent policy of preſerving, as far as they are able, an equal

ballance of power between themſelves; by continually carrying on negociations even in the midſt of war, and keeping ambaſſadors, or leſs honourable ſpies at each other's courts, to give notice to the reſt, of the deſigns of any ſingle one, to ſound the alarm at once over all Europe, and to prevent the weaker ſide from being invaded by the ſtronger, who is always ready to attempt it.

After the death of Charles V. the ballance of power inclined too much on the ſide of the houſe of Auſtria. This powerful houſe was, in the year 1630, miſtreſs of Spain, Portugal, and the riches of America; the Netherlands, the duchy of Milan, the kingdoms of Naples, Bohemia, Hungary, and even Germany, (if we may ſo ſay) were become a part of its patrimony: and had all theſe ſtates been united under one ſingle head of this houſe, it is reaſonable to believe, that he would, at length, have become maſter of all Europe.

OF GERMANY.

THE empire of Germany is the moſt powerful neighbour which France has; it is nearly of the ſame extent; there is not, perhaps, ſo much money in it, but it abounds more with ſturdy men, inured to labour. The Germanic nation is governed, with a very little difference, as France was under the firſt kings of the Capetian race, who were chiefs of ſeveral great vaſſals, by whom they were frequently very ill obeyed, and of a great number of leſſer ones. There are ſixty free cities, called imperial; about as many ſecular princes; near forty eccle-

eccleſiaſtical ones, as well abbots as biſhops, nine electors, amongſt whom we may reckon four kings; and laſtly, the emperor, who is head of all theſe potentates: theſe at preſent compoſe this great Germanic body, which, by the phlegmatic diſpoſition of its members, is maintained in as much order and regularity * as there was formerly confuſion in the French government.

Each member of the empire has his particular rights, privileges, and obligations; and the knowledge of ſuch a number of laws, which are frequently diſputed, makes, what is called in Germany, "The ſtudy of the public law," for which that nation is ſo famous.

The emperor himſelf ſhould not in fact be much more powerful or rich than a doge of Venice. You know that Germany being divided into cities and principalities, nothing is left for the chief of ſuch a number of ſtates, but the pre-eminence, accompanied with the ſupreme honours, without either demeſnes or money, and conſequently without power. He does not poſſeſs a ſingle village in virtue of his title of emperor. Nevertheleſs this dignity, often as vain as ſupreme, has become ſo powerful in the hands of the Auſtrians, that it has been frequently feared that they would convert this republic of princes into an abſolute monarchy.

* Witneſs the preſent war, and the paſt. We apprehend our author might have compared Germany with more propriety, to the heptarchy of the Saxons, a confederacy of independent ſtates, which chooſe a preſident or chief, inveſting him with a ſupreme authority to be exerciſed for the good of the community: but this authority is acquired by election, not enjoyed by hereditary right.

The chriſtian part of Europe, eſpecially Germany, was then, and ſtill is divided into two parties or ſects. The firſt is, that of the catholics, who are all more or leſs ſubject to the authority of the pope. The other, that of the enemies to the ſpiritual and temporal power of the pontiff, and the prelates of the church of Rome. Theſe latter are called by the general name of proteſtants, though divided into Lutherans, Calviniſts, and other ſects, who all hate one another as much as they do the church of Rome.

In Germany, the ſtates of Saxony, Brandenburg, the Palatinate, a part of Bohemia and Hungary, the houſes of Brunſwick and Wirtemberg followed the Lutheran religion, which is by them called the evangelical. All the free cities of the empire have likewiſe embraced this ſect, as ſeemingly more agreeable to a people jealous of their liberty than the religion of the church of Rome.

The Calviniſts, who are ſcattered amongſt the Lutherans, form but an inconſiderable party. The Roman Catholics conſtitute the reſt of the empire; and having at their head the houſe of Auſtria, they were without doubt the moſt powerful.

Not only Germany but all the chriſtian ſtates were ſtill bleeding with the wounds of the many religious wars in which they had been engaged; a madneſs peculiar to chriſtians, and unknown to idolaters, and which was the fatal conſequence of that dogmatic turn, which had for ſo long a time been introduced among all ranks of people. Almoſt every point of controverſy occaſioned a civil war; and foreign na-

nations, (nay perhaps our own poſterity) will one day be at a loſs to comprehend how their anceſtors could have thus mutually butchered each other, while they were preaching up the doctrine of patience.

I have already ſhewn how near Ferdinand II. was to changing the German ariſtocracy into an abſolute monarchy, and how he was on the point of being dethroned by Guſtavus Vaſa. His ſon, Ferdinand III. who inherited his politics, and like him made war from his cabinet, ſwayed the imperial ſceptre during the minority of Lewis XIV.

Germany was not then ſo flouriſhing as it has ſince become. Not only every kind of luxury was wholly unknown there, but even the conveniences of life were very ſcarce in the houſes of the greateſt noblemen, till the year 1686, when they were introduced by the French refugees, who retired thither and ſet up their manufactories. This fruitful and well peopled country was deſtitute both of trade and money: the gravity of manners, and ſlowneſs peculiar to the Germans, deprived them of thoſe pleaſures and agreeable arts which the more penetrating Italians had cultivated for many years, and which the French induſtry began now to carry to perfection. The Germans, though rich at home, were poor every where elſe; and this poverty, added to the difficulty of uniting in a ſhort time, ſo many different people under one ſtandard, made it impoſſible for them to carry the war into their neighbours dominions, or ſupport it there for any time, nearly as at this day. Accordingly, we almoſt always find the French carrying on a war againſt the em-

pire within the empire. The difference of government and genius make the French more proper for attacking, and the Germans for acting on the defenſive.

OF SPAIN.

THE Spaniſh nation, governed by the elder branch of the houſe of Auſtria, after the death of Charles V. had made itſelf more formidable to Europe than the Germanic empire. The kings of Spain were infinitely more abſolute and rich than the emperors: and the mines of Mexico and Peru furniſhed them with treaſures ſufficient to purchaſe the liberties of Europe. You have already ſeen the project of univerſal monarchy, or rather univerſal ſuperiority on the Chriſtian continent, begun by Charles V. and carried on by Philip II.

The Spaniſh greatneſs under Philip II. became a vaſt body without ſubſtance, which had more reputation than real ſtrength.

Philip IV. who inherited his father's weakneſs, loſt Portugal by his neglect; Rouſſillon by the inferiority of his arms; and Catalonia by the abuſe of his abſolute authority. Such princes could not long continue ſucceſsful in their wars againſt France. If our errors and diviſions gave them ſome few advantages, they ſoon loſt the fruits of them by their own want of capacity. Beſides, they had a people to command whoſe privileges gave them a right to ſerve ill. The Caſtilians, for inſtance, had a privilege by which they were exempted from ſerving out of their own country. The Arragonians were continually oppoſing their liberties

ties to the orders of the king's council; and the Catalans, who looked upon their kings as their enemies, would not even ſuffer them to raiſe militia in their provinces.

Notwithſtanding all theſe diſadvantages, Spain, by being united to the empire, threw a very formidable weight into the balance of Europe.

Of PORTUGAL.

AT this time Portugal was again made a kingdom. John duke of Braganza, who paſſed for a weak prince, had wreſted this province from a king who was weaker than himſelf. The Portugueſe, through neceſſity, cultivated trade, which the Spaniards through pride neglected, and had lately, (in the year 1641) entered into a league with the French and Dutch againſt Spain. France gained more by the revolution in Portugal than ſhe could have done by the moſt ſignal victories. The French miniſtry, without having in the leaſt contributed to this event, reaped without any trouble the greateſt advantage that can be wiſhed for over an enemy; that of ſeeing him attacked by an irreconcileable power.

Portugal, who thus threw off the Spaniſh yoke, extended its trade, and augmented its power, puts us in mind of Holland, which enjoyed the ſame advantages, though in a very different manner.

Of the UNITED PROVINCES.

THIS ſmall ſtate, compoſed of ſeven united provinces, a country abounding in excellent paſturage, but deſtitute of all kind of grain, unhealthy, and in a manner buried in the ſea, was for about half a century almoſt the only example in the world, of what may be done by the love of liberty and unwearied labour. Theſe poor people, few in number, and inferior in military diſcipline to the meaneſt of the Spaniſh militia, and of no account in the reſt of Europe, made head againſt the whole collected force of their maſter and tyrant Philip II. eluded the deſigns of ſeveral princes who offered to aſſiſt them, in hopes of enſlaving them, and founded a power which we have ſeen counterbalancing that of Spain itſelf. The deſperation which tyranny inſpires firſt armed theſe people; liberty raiſed their courage, and the princes of the houſe of Orange made them excellent ſoldiers. No ſooner were they become conquerors of their maſters, than they eſtabliſhed a form of government which preſerves as far as is poſſible, equality, the moſt natural right of mankind.

This ſtate of ſo new a kind was from its firſt foundation intimately attached to France: they were united by intereſt, and had the ſame enemies. Henry the Great, and Lewis XIII. had been its allies and protectors.

Of ENGLAND.

ENGLAND, a far more powerful ſtate, arrogated to itſelf the ſovereignty of the ſeas, and pretended to preſerve a ballance between the powers of Europe; but Charles I. who began his reign in 1625, was ſo far from being able to ſupport the weight of this ballance, that he found the ſceptre already falling through his hands: he had attempted to render his power independent of the laws of England, and to make a change in the religion of Scotland. He was too headſtrong to be diverted from his projects, and too weak to carry them into execution. He was the good huſband, the good maſter, the good father, and the honeſt man*; but an ill adviſed prince: he engaged in a civil war, which loſt him his throne, and made him end his life on a ſcaffold, by an unparalleled revolution.

This civil war, which was begun in the minority of Lewis XIV. prevented England for ſome time from taking part in her neighbours concerns: ſhe loſt her credit in Europe, with

* We ſhould be glad to know how he could be a good man that endeavoured to render himſelf abſolute and independent of the laws of his country. Mr. de Voltaire would have done more juſtice to the character of Charles, had he ſaid that monarch was too jealous of his prerogative, upon which he imagined the commons wanted to intrench; and did not ſufficiently advert to the extent of the privileges of the people. That he ſhould be miſtaken in theſe particulars, is not at all ſurpriſing, when we conjecture that the bounds of prerogative and privilege were not at that period aſcertained.

her quiet at home; her trade was obſtructed, and other nations looked upon her as buried beneath her own ruins, till the time that ſhe at once became more formidable than ever, under the rule of Cromwell, who had enſlaved her with the goſpel in one hand, the ſword in the other, and the maſk of religion on his face; and who in his adminiſtration concealed, under the qualities of a great king, all the crimes of an uſurper.

OF ROME.

THE ballance which England had ſo long flattered itſelf with the hopes of keeping up by its ſuperior power, Rome endeavoured to maintain by its politics. Italy was divided as it now is into ſeveral ſovereignties; that which is poſſeſſed by the pope is ſufficiently great to render him reſpectable as a prince, and too ſmall to make him formidable. The nature of the government does not contribute to the peopling of his country, which alſo has very little trade or money. His ſpiritual authority, which is always mixed with ſomething of the temporal, is ſlighted and abhorred by one half of Chriſtendom: and though he is conſidered as a father by the other half, yet he has ſome children who reſiſt his will at times with reaſon and ſucceſs. It is the maxim of the French government to look upon him as a ſacred but enterpriſing perſon, whoſe hands muſt ſometimes be tied, though they kiſs his feet. We ſtill ſee in all the catholic countries the traces of thoſe ſteps which the court of Rome has frequently made towards univerſal monarchy.

narchy. All the princes of the Romiſh religion, upon their acceſſion, ſend an embaſſy to the pope, which is termed the embaſſy of obedience. Every crowned head has a cardinal at his court, who takes the name of protector. The pope grants bulls for filling up all vacant biſhopricks, and expreſſes himſelf in theſe bulls as if he conferred theſe dignities by his own pure authority. All the Italian, Spaniſh, Flemiſh, and even ſome of the French biſhops, ſtile themſelves biſhops by the divine permiſſion, and that of the holy ſee. There is no kingdom in which he has not ſeveral benefices in his nomination; and he receives as a tribute the firſt years revenues of conſiſtorial benefices.

The religious orders, whoſe principals reſide at Rome, are again ſo many immediate ſubjects to the pontiff, ſcattered over all ſtates. Cuſtom, which does every thing, and which occaſions the world to be governed by abuſes as by laws, has not always permitted princes to put an entire ſtop to this danger, which in other reſpects is connected with things uſeful and ſacred. To ſwear allegiance to any other than the ſovereign is a crime of high treaſon in a layman; but in a convent it is a religious act. The difficulty of knowing how far we are to carry our obedience to this foreign ſovereign, the eaſe with which we ſuffer ourſelves to be ſeduced, the pleaſure there is in throwing off a natural yoke for a voluntary one, the ſpirit of diſcord and the unhappineſs of the times, have but too often prevailed on whole bodies of religious orders to ſerve the cauſe of Rome againſt their own country.

The

The enlightened ſpirit which has reigned in France for this century paſt, and which has communicated itſelf to people of all ranks, has proved the moſt effectual remedy againſt this abuſe. The excellent books which have been written on this ſubject, have done real ſervice both to kings and people; and one of the great changes which was wrought by this means in our manners, under the reign of Lewis XIV. is, that the religious of all kinds begin now to be perſuaded that they ſhould be ſubject to their king, before they are ſervants to the pope. The juridical power, which is the eſſential mark of ſovereignty, ſtill remains with the Roman pontiff; and even the French government, notwithſtanding all the liberties of the Gallican church, allows a final appeal to the pope in all eccleſiaſtical cauſes.

If any one is deſirous of obtaining a divorce, of marrying a near relation, or of being releaſed from their vows, application is to be made to the court of Rome, and not to the biſhop of the dioceſe; there all indulgencies are rated, and the individuals of all ſtates may from thence purchaſe diſpenſations at all prices.

Theſe advantages, which are by many people looked upon as the conſequences of the greateſt abuſe, and by others as the remains of the moſt ſacred rights, are always artfully preſerved; and modern Rome employs as much policy in keeping up its credit as the ancient republic did in conquering one half of the known world.

No court ever knew better how to act agreeable to men and times. The popes are almoſt always Italians, grown grey in public affairs, and

and diveſted of thoſe paſſions which make men blind to their intereſt; their council is compoſed of cardinals, who reſemble them, and who are all animated with the ſame ſpirit. This council iſſues mandates, which reach as far as China, and the extremes of America, in which ſenſe it may be ſaid to take in the whole univerſe; and we may ſay of it as a ſtranger formerly ſaid of the Roman ſenate: "I have beheld an aſſembly of kings." Moſt of our writers have with reaſon inveighed againſt the ambition of this court; but I do not find one who has done ſufficient juſtice to its prudence, neither do I know if any other nation could have ſo long maintained itſelf in the poſſeſſion of ſo many privileges continually conteſted; any other court might probably have loſt them, either by its haughtineſs, its effeminacy, its ſloth, or its vivacity; but that of Rome, by an almoſt conſtant proper uſe of reſolution and conceſſion, has preſerved all that was humanly poſſible for her to preſerve. We have ſeen her ſubmiſſive to Charles V. terrible to our king, Henry III. the friend and the foe by turns to Henry IV. acting cunningly with Lewis XIII. openly oppoſing Lewis XIV. at a time when he was to be feared; and frequently a private enemy to the emperors, of whom ſhe was more diſtruſtful than even of the Turkiſh ſultan.

Some rights, many pretenſions, politics, and patience, are all that Rome has now left of that ancient power which ſix centuries ago attempted to ſubject the empire and all Europe to the triple crown.

Na-

Naples is ſtill an exiſting proof of that right which the popes formerly aſſumed with ſo much art and parade, of creating and beſtowing kingdoms; but the king of Spain, who is the preſent poſſeſſor of that kingdom, has only left the court of Rome the dangerous honour of having an overpowerful vaſſal.

Of the reſt of ITALY.

AS for the reſt, the pope's dominions were ſituated in a peaceable country, which had never been diſturbed but by a trifling war, of which I have already ſpoken, between the cardinals Barberini, nephews to Urban VIII. and the duke of Parma.

The other provinces of Italy were biaſſed by various intereſts. Venice had the Turks and the emperor to fear, and could hardly defend its dominions on the continent againſt the pretenſions of Germany, and the invaſion of the grand ſignor. She was no longer that city which was formerly the miſtreſs of the trade of the whole world, and that one hundred and fifty years before had excited the jealouſy of ſo many crowned heads. The wiſdom of its adminiſtration continued the ſame as formerly; but its great trade being deſtroyed, deprived it of almoſt all its ſtrength, and the city of Venice was by its ſituation incapable of being conquered, and by its weakneſs incapable of making conqueſts.

The ſtate of Florence enjoyed tranquility and abundance under the government of the Medicis family; and literature, arts, and politeneſs, which they had firſt introduced, ſtill flouriſhed there.

there. Tuſcany was at that time in Italy what Athens had been in Greece.

Savoy, after having been rent by a civil war, and deſolated by the French and Spaniſh armies, was at length wholly united in favour of France, and contributed to weaken the Auſtrian power in Italy.

The Swiſs nation preſerved, as at this day, its own liberty, without ſeeking to oppreſs its neighbours. They ſold the ſervice of their troops to nations richer than themſelves: they were poor and ignorant of the ſciences, and of all the arts which are begotten by luxury; but they were wiſe, and they were happy.

Of the NORTHERN KINGDOMS.

THE Northern nations of Europe, viz. Poland, Sweden, Denmark, and Muſcovy, were like the other powers, always diſtruſtful of, and at war with each other. In Poland, both the manners and government were, as they now are, nearly the ſame with thoſe of the ancient Goths and Franks. The crown was elective; the nobles had a ſhare in the ſupreme authority; the people were ſlaves; the infantry was weak; and the cavalry was wholly compoſed of nobles; there were no fortified towns, and ſcarcely any trade. Theſe people were attacked at one time by the Swedes, or the Muſcovites, and at others by the Turks.

The Swedes, who were a freer nation by their conſtitution, which admits even the loweſt claſs of the people into the aſſembly of the general eſtates, but at that time more ſubject to their kings than the Poles, were almoſt every where vic-

victorious. Denmark, which had formerly been ſo formidable to Sweden, was no longer ſo to any power; and Muſcovy was not yet emerged from barbariſm.

Of the TURKS.

THE Turks were not what they had been under their Selims, their Mahomets, and their Solymans. The ſeraglio, though corrupted by effeminacy, ſtill retained its cruelty. The ſultans were at the ſame time the moſt deſpotic of ſovereigns, and the leaſt ſecure of their throne and life. Oſman and Ibrahim had lately been ſtrangled, and Muſtapha had been twice depoſed. The Ottoman empire, tottering from theſe repeated ſhocks, was alſo attacked by the Perſians; but when it had enjoyed a little reſpite from them, and that the revolutions of the ſeraglio were at an end, this empire became again formidable to Chriſtendom, and ſpread its conqueſts from the mouth of the Boriſthenes to the Adriatic ſea. Muſcovy, Hungary, Greece, and the Archipelago, fell alternately a prey to the Turkiſh arms; and from the year 1644, they had conſtantly carried on the war of Candia, which proved ſo fatal to the Chriſtians.

Such then were the ſituation, ſtrength, and intereſts of the principal European nations, about the time that Lewis XIII. of France departed this life.

The

The Situation of FRANCE.

FRANCE, who was in alliance with Sweden, Holland, Savoy, and Portugal, and had the favourable wiſhes of the other nations who remained inactive, was engaged in a war againſt the empire and Spain, which proved ruinous to both ſides, and particularly fatal to the houſe of Auſtria. This war was like all thoſe which have been carried on for ſo many centuries between chriſtian princes, in which millions of men have been ſacrificed, and whole provinces laid waſte to obtain a few frontier towns, the poſſeſſion of which is ſeldom worth the expence of conquering them.

Lewis XIII's generals had taken Rouſſillon; and the Catalans had given their province to France, as the protectreſs of that liberty which they defended againſt their kings; but all theſe ſucceſſes had not prevented the enemy from making themſelves maſters of Corbie, in the year 1637, and advancing as far as Pontoiſe. Fear had driven one half of the inhabitants out of Paris; and cardinal de Richelieu, in the midſt of his mighty projects for humbling the Auſtrian power, had been reduced to lay a tax upon the houſes with great gates in the city of Paris; every one of which was obliged to furniſh a footman armed, to drive the enemy from the gates of the metropolis.

The French there had done the Spaniards and Germans a great deal of miſchief, and had ſuffered as much themſelves.

The

The Manners of the AGE.

THE wars had produced ſeveral illuſtrious generals; ſuch as a Guſtavus Adolphus, a Walſtein, a duke of Saxe Weimar, a Picolomini, a John de Vert, the marechal of Guebriant, the princes of Orange, and the count of Harcourt: nor was this age leſs famous for miniſters of ſtate. Chancellor Oxenſtiern *, the count duke Olivarez, and the cardinal duke de Richelieu, had drawn the attention of all Europe upon them, eſpecially the latter. There never was an age which had not ſome famous ſtateſmen and ſoldiers: politics and arms ſeem unhappily to be the two profeſſions moſt natural to man, who muſt always be either negociating or fighting. The moſt fortunate is accounted the greateſt; and the public frequently attributes to merit what is only the effect of an happy ſucceſs.

War was then carried on differently from what it afterwards was in the time of Lewis XIV. There were not ſuch numerous armies: no general ſince the ſiege of Metz by Charles V. had been at the head of fifty thouſand men. They did not make uſe of ſo many cannon in the beſieging and defending of places as at preſent. The art of fortification itſelf was then in its infancy. Spears and ſhort guns were then in uſe, as well as the ſword, which is now entirely laid aſide. One of the old laws of na-

* Axel Oxenſtiern was great chancellor of Sweden, and prime miniſter to Guſtavus Adolphus, after whoſe death he conducted the affairs of the Swedes and their allies in Germany, under the name of Director-General.

tions

tions was ſtill in force, namely, that of declaring war by a herald. Lewis XIII. was the laſt who obſerved this cuſtom: he ſent an herald at arms to Bruſſels, to declare war againſt Spain, in the year 1635.

Nothing was more common at that time than to ſee armies commanded by prieſts: the cardinal Infant, the cardinals of Savoy, Richelieu, la Valette*, and Sourdis †, archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, had put on the cuiraſs, and waged war in perſon. A biſhop of Mendes had been frequently intendant of the army. The popes ſometimes threatned theſe military prelates with excommunication. Pope Urban VIII. being incenſed againſt France, ſent word to cardinal la Valette, that he would ſtrip him of the purple, if he did not lay down the ſword; but when the pontiff came afterwards to be reconciled to France, he loaded them with benedictions.

Ambaſſadors, who are equally the miniſters of peace with churchmen, made no difficulty of ſerving in the armies of the allied powers, to whom they were ſent. Charnacé, who was envoy from the court of France, to Holland, commanded a regiment there in 1637; and

* Louis de Nogaret, cardinal de la Valette, was third ſon to the duke d'Epernon. While archbiſhop of Tholouſe, pope Paul V. raiſed him to the rank of a cardinal, in the year 1621. He was alſo commander of the order of the Holy Ghoſt, lieutenant general of the king's armies, and governor of Anjou. He owed all his promotions to the favour of cardinal de Richelieu, to whoſe intereſt he was entirely devoted.

† It was not Francis d'Eſcoubleau, cardinal de Sourdis, but his brother Henry, his coadjutor and afterwards ſucceſſor in the archbiſhopric of Bourdeaux, who acted in a military capacity, as being commander of the king's orders.

ſome

ſometimes afterwards, even the ambaſſador d'Eſtrade was a colonel in the Dutch ſervice.

France had not in all above eighty thouſand effective men on foot. Its marine, which had for ſome centuries fallen to decay, and had afterwards been a little reſtored by cardinal de Richelieu, was ruined under Mazarin. Lewis XIII. had not more than forty-five millions of real ordinary revenue; but money was then at twenty-ſix livres the mark, conſequently theſe forty-five millions amounted to near eighty-five millions of the preſent currency, when the arbitrary value of the ſilver mark is carried to forty-nine livres and an half; an exorbitant numerical value, and which juſtice and the intereſt of the public forbid ever to be increaſed.

Trade, which is ſo univerſal at preſent, was then only in a very few hands: the police of the kingdom was entirely neglected, a certain ſign of a bad adminiſtration. Cardinal de Richelieu, wholly taken up with his own greatneſs, which was linked with that of the ſtate, had begun to render France formidable without doors, but had not been able to it make flouriſhing within. The roads were neither kept in repair nor properly guarded; they were infected by troops of robbers. The ſtreets of Paris, which were narrow, badly paved, and covered with diſagreeable filth, ſwarmed with thieves. It is proved by the regiſters of parliament, that the city watch was at that time reduced to forty-five men, badly payed, and who frequently did no duty at all.

Ever ſince the death of Francis I. France had been continually rent by civil wars, or diſturbed by factions. The people never were the yoke

in a voluntary or peaceable manner. The nobles were trained up from their youth in conſpiracies; it was the court-art, the ſame as that of pleaſing the ſovereign has ſince been.

This ſpirit of diſcord and faction ſpread itſelf from the court into the ſmalleſt towns, and took poſſeſſion of all public ſocieties in the kingdom; every thing was diſputed, becauſe there was no general rule; the very pariſhes in Paris uſed to come to blows with each other; and proceſſions have fought together about the honour of their banners. The canons of Notre Dame were frequently ſeen engaged with thoſe of the Holy Chapel; the parliament and the chamber of accounts battled for the upper hand in the church of Notre Dame, the very day that Lewis XIII. put his kingdom under the protection of the Virgin Mary.

Almoſt all the public corporations of the kingdom were in arms, and almoſt every individual was inflamed with the fury of duelling. This Gothic barbariſm, which was formerly authorized by kings themſelves, and was become the diſtinguiſhing character of the nation, contributed as much as the foreign and domeſtic wars to depopulate the country. It is not ſaying too much to aver, that in the courſe of twenty years, of which ten had been troubled by war, there died more French gentlemen by the hands of Frenchmen than by thoſe of the enemy.

We ſhall not here take any notice of the manner in which the arts and ſciences were cultivated: this part of the hiſtory of our manners will be found in its proper place. We ſhall only remark, that the French nation was plunged

plunged in ignorance, without excepting even thoſe who look upon themſelves as removed above the common people.

Aſtrologers were much conſulted, and greatly confided in. All the memoirs of this age, to begin with the hiſtory of the preſident de Thou, are full of predictions: even the grave and rigid duke of Sully himſelf, very ſeriouſly relates thoſe which were made to Henry IV. This credulity, which is the moſt infallible mark of ignorance, prevailed ſo much at that time, that care was taken to keep an aſtrologer concealed in queen Anne of Auſtria's chamber, while ſhe was in labour of Lewis the XIV.

It is hardly credible, though we find it related by the abbot Vittorio Siri, a cotemporary writer of great authority, that Lewis XIII. had the ſurname of Juſt given him from his childhood, becauſe he was born under the ſign Libra, or the ballance.

The ſame weakneſs which firſt brought this abſurd chimera of judicial aſtrology into vogue, occaſioned a belief in faſcinations and witchcrafts; it was even made a point of religion, and nothing was to be ſeen but prieſts driving out devils from thoſe who were ſaid to be poſſeſſed. The courts of juſtice, compoſed of magiſtrates who ought to have more underſtanding than the vulgar, were employed in trying witches and ſorcerers. The death of the famous curate of Loudoun, Urban Grandier, will ever be a ſtain upon the memory of cardinal de Richelieu. This man was condemned to the ſtake for a magician, by commiſſioners appointed by the council of ſtate. We cannot without indignation reflect, that the miniſter and the judges

ſhould

ſhould have been ſo weak as to believe in the devils of Loudun *, and ſo barbarous as to condemn an innocent man to the flames; and it will be remembered with aſtoniſhment by the lateſt poſterity, that the wife of the marechal d'Ancre was burnt in the Place de Grêve for a witch.

There is ſtill to be ſeen, in a copy of ſome regiſters of the Chatelet, a trial which was begun in the year 1601, on account of a horſe, whom his maſter had with great pains taught to perform tricks, as we now ſee ſome every day at our fairs. They wanted to burn both maſter and horſe.

We have already ſaid enough to give an idea of the manners and ſpirit of the age which preceded that of Lewis XIV.

This want of underſtanding in all orders of the ſtate, did not a little encourage, even among the beſt people, certain ſuperſtitious practices,

* The real crime for which Grandier ſuffered, was his being believed the author of a lampoon, intituled, La Courdonniere de Loudun, in which the birth and character of cardinal Richelieu were ſeverely ſatiriſed. Grandier being accuſed by the Capuchins, of exerciſing the black art upon ſome Urſuline nuns, ſuppoſed to be poſſeſſed at Loudun, he was brought to his trial, and found guilty on the evidence of the following devils, Aſhtaroth, of the order of the ſeraphim, and chief of the poſſeſſing demons; Eaſas, Celſus, Acaos, Cedon, and Aſmodeus, of the order of the thrones; Alex, Zabulon, Nephthalim, Cham, Uriel, and Acbas, of the order of principalities; in other words, by the Urſulines, ſuppoſed to be poſſeſſed by theſe devils. He was condemned to be burned alive, and ſuffered with great courage and compoſure: when he was brought to the ſtake, a drone-fly happening to buz about his head, a monk who was preſent, cried aloud, that the devil was come in the ſhape of a drone to fetch away the ſoul of Grandier.

which were a diſgrace to religion. The proteſtants, confounding the reaſonable worſhip of the catholics with the abuſes introduced into that worſhip, were more firmly fixed in their hatred to our church; to our popular ſuperſtitions, frequently intermingled with debaucheries, they oppoſed a brutal ſternesſ and a ferocity of manners, the character of almoſt all reformers. Thus was France rent and debaſed by a party ſpirit, while that ſocial diſpoſition, for which the nation is now ſo deſervedly famous and eſteemed, was unknown amongſt us. There were then no houſes where men of merit might meet together to communicate their lights to each other, no academies, no theatres. In a word, our manners, laws, arts, ſociety, religion, peace, and war, had no reſemblance with what was afterwards ſeen in that age known by the name of THE AGE OF LEWIS XIV.

CHAP. CLXVII.

MINORITY of LEWIS XIV.

The Victories of the FRENCH under the great CONDE, then Duke of ENGUIEN.

CARDINAL de Richelieu and Lewis XIII. were lately dead, the one admired and hated, the other already forgotten. They had left the French, who were at that time a reſtleſs people, in a fixed averſion to the very name of a miniſtry, and with very little reſpect to

to the throne. Lewis XIII. had, by his will, ſettled a council of regency. This monarch, ſo ill obeyed when he was living, flattered himſelf with meeting with more obſervance after his death; but the firſt ſtep taken by his widow, Anne of Auſtria, was to procure an arrêt of the parliament of Paris for ſetting aſide her huſband's will. This body, which had been ſo long in oppoſition to the court, and which under Lewis had with difficulty preſerved its right of making remonſtrances, now annulled its monarch's will with the ſame eaſe as it would have determined the cauſe of a private citizen. Anne of Auſtria applied to this aſſembly to have the regency unlimited, becauſe that Mary of Medicis had made uſe of the ſame court after the death of Henry IV. and Mary of Medicis had ſet this example, becauſe any other method would have been tedious and uncertain; becauſe the parliament being ſurrounded by her guards, could not diſpute her will; and that an arret iſſued by the parliament and the peers, ſeemed to confer an inconteſtable right*. Aug. 18, 1643

The cuſtom which always confers the regency on the king's mother, appeared to the French at that time as fundamental a law as that by which women are excluded from the crown. The parliament of Paris having twice ſettled this point, that is to ſay, having by its own authority decreed the regency veſted in

* Riencourt, in his hiſtory of Lewis XIV. ſays, that Lewis XIII's will was regiſtered in parliament. What deceived this writer is, that Lewis XIII. had actually declared the queen regent, which was confirmed, but that part of his will by which he had limited her authority, was ſet aſide.

the queen-mothers, ſeemed in fact to have conferred the regency; it conſidered itſelf, not without ſome ſhew of reaſon, as the guardian of our kings, and every counſellor thought he had a part in the ſovereign authority. By the ſame arret, Gaſton duke of Orleans, brother to the late king, had the vain title given him of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, under the queen-regent, who was abſolute.

Anne of Auſtria was, upon her firſt aſſuming the reins of government, obliged to continue the war againſt her brother Philip IV. king of Spain, whom ſhe affectionately loved. It is difficult to aſſign any poſitive reaſon for the French having undertaken this war; they claimed nothing from Spain, not even Navarre, which ought to have been the patrimony of the kings of France. They had continued at war ever ſince the year 1634, becauſe cardinal de Richelieu would have it ſo, and it is to be ſuppoſed that he was deſirous of it, in order to make himſelf neceſſary. He had engaged in a league againſt the emperor with the Swedes, and duke Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, one of thoſe generals whom the Italians called Condottieri, who ſold the ſervice of their troops. He likewiſe attacked the Auſtrian Spaniſh branch, in thoſe ten provinces which we now call by the general name of Flanders; and he had divided this country with the Dutch, at that time our allies, tho' it was not yet conquered.

The ſtreſs of the war lay on the ſide of Flanders: the Spaniſh troops marched from the frontiers of Hainault to the number of twenty-ſix thouſand men, under the command of an old experienced general, whoſe name was Don Fran-

Francisco de Mello, fell upon and ravaged the borders of Champagne, and attacked Rocroi, and thought soon to advance to the very gates of Paris, as they had done eight years before. The death of Lewis XIII. and the weakness of a minority raised their hopes, and when they saw only an inconsiderable army opposed to them, and that commanded by a young man of only twenty-one years of age, these hopes were changed into full security.

This unexperienced young man, whom they so much despised, was Lewis of Bourbon, then duke of Enguien, known since by the name of the great Condé. Most great generals have become so by degrees, but this prince was born a general. The art of war seemed in him a natural instinct. There was only him and the Swede Torstenson, who at twenty years of age were possessed of this talent which can dispense with experience.

The duke of Enguien had received, together with the news of Lewis XIII's death, orders not to risk a battle; the marechal de l'Hopital, who had been given him as a counsellor and guide, backed these timid orders by his own caution; but the prince heeded neither the court nor the marechal: he entrusted his design to no one but the field-marshal Gassion, a person worthy of being consulted by him. They together obliged the marechal to give his assent to the battle.

It is observed of the prince, that having made all the necessary dispositions the evening before the battle, he slept so soundly that night, that his people were obliged to wake him to begin the engagement. The May. 19.

ſame thing is related of Alexander. It is very natural for a young man, exhauſted with the fatigue which muſt attend the preparations for ſuch a day, to fall into a ſound ſleep; it is likewiſe as natural that a genius formed for war, and acting without confuſion, ſhould leave the body ſufficiently calm to enjoy ſleep. The prince gained the battle himſelf, by a quickneſs of ſight, which at once made him diſcern the danger, and the means to prevent it; and by a cool activity, which carried him to every place at the time his preſence was wanted. He himſelf, at the head of the cavalry, fell upon the Spaniſh infantry, till then deemed invincible, and which were as ſtrong and compact as the ancient phalanx, ſo greatly eſteemed, and could open much quicker than the phalanx could, in order to give room for the diſcharge of eighteen pieces of cannon, which were placed in its center. The prince ſurrounded this body, and charged it three times ſucceſſively; at length he broke it, and no ſooner was he aſſured of the victory, than he gave orders to put a ſtop to the ſlaughter. The Spaniſh officers threw themſelves at his feet, for protection againſt the fury of the victorious ſoldiery. The duke of Enguien was as aſſiduous in ſecuring them as he had been in conquering them.

The old count de Fuentes, who commanded this body of foot, was ſlain on the field of battle; which when Condé heard, he ſaid, "He ſhould have wiſhed to have died like him, if he had not conquered."

The high eſteem which the Spaniſh arms had till then been held in by all Europe was now loſt, and thoſe of the French began to gain

gain repute, who had not for a century paſt gained ſo great a victory; for the bloody day of Marignan *, which was rather diſputed than gained by Francis I. over the Swiſs, was as much owing to the black bands of Germany as to the French.

The battles of Pavia and of St. Quintin were again two fatal æras to the reputation of France. Henry IV. had the misfortune to gain great advantages only over his own nation. In the reign of Lewis XIII. the marſhal de Guebriant had had ſome ſmall ſucceſſes, but they were always counterballanced by loſſes. Guſtavus Adolphus was the only one at that time who fought thoſe great battles which ſhake a ſtate, and remain for ever in the memory of poſterity.

This battle of Rocroi became the æra of the French glory, and of the great Condé's. This general knew how to conquer, and to make the moſt of conqueſt. The letters he wrote made the court reſolve on the ſiege of Theonville, which cardinal Richelieu had not dared to hazard; and when his couriers returned, they found every thing ready for the expedition.

The prince of Condé marched thro' the enemy's country, eluded the vigilance of general Beck, and at length took Thionville; from thence he haſtened and laid ſiege to Cirq, which he likewiſe reduced. He obliged the Germans to repaſs the Rhine, followed them over that river, and came upon the frontiers, where he repaired all the defeats and loſſes which the French had ſuſtained after Aug. 8. 1643.

* See Vol. IV. Chap. CI.

the death of the marſhal de Guebriant. He found the town of Fribourg in the enemy's poſſeſſion, and general Merci under its walls, with an army ſuperior to his own. Condé had under him two marechals of France, Grammont and Turenne, the latter of whom had been made marechal about a month, in conſideration of the good ſervices he had done againſt the Spaniards in Piedmont, where he laid the foundation of that great reputation which he afterwards acquired. The prince with theſe two generals attacked Merci's camp, which was entrenched upon two eminences. The fight was renewed three times in three ſeveral days. It is ſaid that the duke of Enguien threw his commander's ſtaff into the enemy's trenches, and marched to retake it ſword in hand, at the head of the regiment of Conti. There may ſometimes be a neceſſity for ſuch bold actions, in leading on troops to attacks of ſo dangerous a nature. This battle of Fribourg, rather bloody than deciſive, was the ſecond victory the prince had gained. Merci decamped four days afterwards; and the ſurrender of Philipſbourg and Mentz were at once the proofs and fruits of this victory.

Aug. 31, 1644.

The duke of Enguien then returned to Paris, where he was received amidſt the acclamations of the people, and demanded of the court the rewards due to his ſervices; he left the command of his army to marechal Turenne; but this general, notwithſtanding his great military ſkill, was defeated at Mariendal. Upon this the prince flies back to his army, reſumes the command, and to the glory

April, 1645.

glory of commanding the great Turenne, adds that of repairing his defeat. He attacks Merci in the plains of Nordlingen, and gains a complete victory. Aug. 3, 1645. Marſhal Grammont was taken; but general Glen, the ſecond in command to Merci, was likewiſe made priſoner, and Merci himſelf was among the number of the ſlain. This general, who was eſteemed one of the greateſt captains of his age, was interred on the field of battle with this inſcription on his tomb, *Sta, viator, heroem calcas*; Stop, traveller, thou treadeſt on a hero.

The name of the duke of Enguien now eclipſed all others. He afterwards laid ſiege to Dunkirk, in ſight of the Spaniſh army, and was the firſt who added that place to the French territories. Oct. 7th. 1646

Theſe many ſucceſſes and ſervices, which were rather looked upon with a ſuſpicious eye by the court, than properly rewarded, made him as much feared by the miniſtry as by his enemies. He was therefore recalled from his theatre of conqueſt and glory, and ſent into Catalonia with a handful of bad troops, as badly paid; then he beſieged the town of Lerida, but was obliged to quit the ſiege. He is accuſed by ſeveral writers of a fooliſh bravado, in having opened the trenches to the ſound of muſical inſtruments. They did not know that this was the cuſtom in Spain.

It was not long however before the tickliſh ſituation of affairs obliged the court to recall him back to Flanders. Archduke Leopold, the emperor's brother, was then beſieging the town of Lens in Artois. Condé, as ſoon as he was re-

ſtored to thoſe troops who had always conquered under his command, led them directly againſt the archduke Leopold. This was the third time he had given battle with the advantage of numbers againſt him. He addreſſed his ſoldiers in this ſhort ſpeech; "My Friends, remember Rocroi, Fribourg, and Nordlingen." This battle of Lens put the finiſhing ſtroke to his reputation.

Aug. 20th, 1648. He ſuccoured in perſon marſhal Grammont, who was giving way with the left wing, and took general Beck priſoner. The archduke with great difficulty ſaved himſelf, with the count of Fruenſaldagna. The enemy's army, which was compoſed of the Imperialiſts and Spaniards, was totally routed. They loſt upwards of an hundred ſtands of colours and thirty-eight pieces of cannon, which at that time was a conſiderable number; there were five thouſand men taken priſoners, and three thouſand ſlain; the reſt deſerted, and the archduke was left without an army.

While the prince of Condé * was thus numbering the years of his youth by victories, and that the duke of Orleans, brother to Lewis XIII. likewiſe maintained the reputation of a ſon of Henry IV. and that of his country, by the taking of Gravelines, Courtray, and Mardyke; July, 1644. the viſcount of Turenne reduced Landau, drove the Spaniards out of Triers, and reſtored the elector. Nov. 1644.

* His father died in 1646.

He

He gained the battles of Lavingen and Sommerhauſen with the Swedes, and obliged the duke of Bavaria to fly out of his dominions, when almoſt eighty years old. The earl of Harcourt took Balaguier, and beat the Spaniards. They loſt Portolongone in Italy, and their fleet was defeated on that coaſt by twenty ſhips of war, and as many galleys, which was the whole of the French navy, then newly reſtored by cardinal de Richelieu. November, 1647 1645 1646

This was not all; the French army took Lorraine from duke Charles IV. a warlike, but fickle, imprudent, and unfortunate prince, who at the ſame time ſaw his dominions ſeized on by the French, and himſelf a priſoner to the Spaniards. The Auſtrian power was hard preſſed by the allies of France in the North and South. The duke of Albuquerque, the Portugueſe general, gained the battle of Bajadox * againſt the Spaniards. Torſtenſon defeated the Imperialiſts near Tabor †, and gained a complete victory; and the prince of Orange, at the head of his Hollanders, penetrated as far as the province of Brabant in Flanders. May, 1644 March, 1645

The Spaniſh king was beaten on all ſides, and ſaw Rouſſillon and Catalonia in the hands of the French. Naples had lately revolted againſt him, and thrown itſelf into the hands of the duke de Guiſe, the laſt 1647

* A fortified city of Spain, and a frontier place, towards Portugal.

† A ſmall town of Bohemia, lying between Budweis and Prague.

prince of that branch of a houſe which had teemed with ſo many illuſtrious and dangerous men. This prince, who was deemed only a raſh and bold adventurer, becauſe he did not ſucceed, had however the glory of paſſing alone in a boat through the midſt of the Spaniſh fleet, landing in Naples, and defending it without any other aſſiſtance than his own valour.

At the view of ſo many misfortunes pouring upon the houſe of Auſtria, and ſuch a train of victories gained by the French, and ſeconded by the ſucceſſes of their allies, one would imagine that Vienna and Madrid only waited the moment when they ſhould be obliged to throw open their gates, and that the emperor and the king of Spain muſt ſhortly be almoſt deſtitute of dominions; nevertheleſs, five years of exceſſive good fortune, hardly chequered by one diſappointment, produced but very few real advantages, coſt an infinite deal of blood, and brought about no change; or if there was one to be apprehended, it was rather on the ſide of France, who was bordering upon its ruin, in the midſt of ſo many apparent ſucceſſes.

CHAP.

CHAP. CLXVIII.

THE CIVIL WAR.

QUEEN Anne of Auſtria, the abſolute regent, had made cardinal Mazarine* maſter of the kingdom, and of herſelf. He had that power over her, which every artful man muſt have over a woman who is weak enough to be governed, and reſolute enough to perſiſt in the choice ſhe has made of a favourite.

We read in ſome of the memoirs of thoſe times, that the queen only made choice of Mazarine for her confident, in conſequence of the inability of Potier, biſhop of Beauvais, whom ſhe had at firſt choſen for her miniſter, and who is repreſented as a man of no capacity. This might poſſibly have been the caſe, and the queen might have made uſe of this man for ſome time as a cypher not to exaſperate the nation by the choice of another cardinal, and he a foreigner; but we can never believe that Potier began his ſhort adminiſtration by declaring to the Dutch,

* Julio Mazarine was born in the little town of Piſcina, in the Abruzzo. He raiſed himſelf, by his political knowledge and addreſs, to the notice of the court of Rome, by which he was employed in ſeveral negociations. After the peace of Queraſque, in 1631, he was ſent as nuncio extraordinary to France, where he inſinuated himſelf into the good graces of cardinal de Richelieu, and gained the friendſhip of Lewis XIII. in conſequence of whoſe nomination he was created cardinal in the year 1641. After the death of Richelieu, Lewis appointed him counſellor of ſtate, and one of his executors: thus he naturally ſucceeded to the management of affairs during the minority of Lewis XIV.

"That

'That they muſt become catholics, if they were deſirous of continuing in alliance with France;" he might as well have made the ſame propoſal to the Swedes. We find this piece of abſurdity related by almoſt all our hiſtorians, becauſe they have read it in the memoirs of ſome of the courtiers and thoſe concerned in the civil war; there are however but too many paſſages in theſe memoirs, either falſified by prejudice, or related on the authority of popular rumour. Puerilities ſhould never be quoted, and abſurdities can never be believed.

Mazarine excerciſed his power with moderation at the beginning. It is neceſſary to have lived a long time with a miniſter to be able to draw his character, to determine what degree of courage or weakneſs there was in his mind, or how far he was prudent or knaviſh: therefore, without pretending to gueſs at what Mazarine really was, we ſhall only ſay what he did. In the firſt days of his greatneſs he affected as much humility as Richelieu had diſplayed haughtineſs. Inſtead of taking a guard for his perſon, and appearing in public with royal pomp, he had at firſt a very modeſt retinue, and ſubſtituted an air of affability, and even of ſoftneſs, in all things where his predeceſſor had ſhewn an inflexible pride. The queen was deſirous to make the court and the people fond of her perſon and authority, in which ſhe ſucceeded. Gaſton duke of Orleans, brother to Lewis XIII. and the prince of Condé ſupported her power, and had no emulation but that of ſerving the ſtate.

It was found neceſſary to lay taxes, in order to maintain the war with Spain and the empire; ſome were accordingly impoſed, which,

were

were in fact very moderate, compared with thoſe which we have ſince paid, and very inſufficient to the wants of the crown.

The parliament, who had the power of authenticating the edicts for theſe taxes, ſtrongly oppoſed that of the tarif, and gained the confidence of the people, by continually thwarting the ſchemes of the miniſtry. 1647

In ſhort, the creation of twelve new places of maſters of requeſts, and the with-holding of about eight thouſand crowns from the ſalaries of the ſuperior companies, cauſed an inſurection among all the people of the long robe, and with them of all Paris; and what at this time would hardly be of conſequence enough to make a paragraph in a news paper, then ſtirred up a civil war

Brouſſel, counſellor-clerk of the upper chamber, a man of no capacity, and whoſe only merit was that of being the foremoſt to open all arguments againſt the court, having been put under arreſt, the people expreſſed more concern than they had ever ſhewn at the death of a good king. The barricadoes of the league were now revived, the flame of ſedition burſt out in an inſtant, and raged ſo fiercely as hardly to be quenched, being induſtriouſly fed by the coadjutor, afterwards the cardinal de Retz: this was the firſt biſhop who had ever excited a civil war without a religious pretext. This extraordinary man has given us his own portrait in his memoirs, which are wrote with an air of greatneſs, an impetuoſity of genius, and an inequality, which form a perfect image of his conduct. He was a man, who, in the midſt of the moſt debauched courſe of life, and ſtill lan-

languiſhing with the conſequences it produces, had the art to harangue the people with ſucceſs, amd make himſelf idolized by them: he breathed nothing but faction and conſpiracy. At the age of twenty-three he had been at the head of a conſpiracy, which was hatched againſt the life of cardinal de Richelieu; he was the contriver of the barricadoes; he always urged the parliament on to cabals, and the people to ſeditions. What is moſt extraordinary is, that the parliament, wholly guided by him, ſet up their ſtandard againſt the court, even before they had the countenance or aſſiſtance of any prince.

This aſſembly had for a long time been looked upon in a different light by the court and the people. According to the declaration of all the miniſters of ſtate, and of the court itſelf, the parliament of Paris was a court of juſtice ſet apart for trying cauſes between the ſubjects: this prerogative it held purely from the will of our kings, and had no other pre-eminence over the other parliaments of the kingdom than that of ſeniority. It was a court of peers only becauſe the court generally reſided at Paris: it had no greater right to make remonſtrances than the other bodies in the ſtate, and this right was a matter of pure indulgence. It had ſucceeded thoſe parliaments which heretofore repreſented the French nation, but it retained nothing more of thoſe ancient aſſemblies than the bare name; an inconteſtable proof of which is, that the general eſtates were actually ſubſtituted in the place of the national aſſemblies; and the parliament of Paris no more reſembled the ancient parliaments held by our firſt

firſt kings, than a conſul of Smyrna or Aleppo reſembles a Roman conſul.

This ſingle miſtake in the name ſerved as a pretext to the ambitious pretenſions of a body of men of the long robe, who all of them, by having purchaſed their ſeats, looked upon themſelves as intitled to fill the places of the conquerors of the Gauls, and the lords of crown fiefs. This body has at all times abuſed the power which a chief tribunal, always exiſting in a capital, neceſſarily arrogates to itſelf. It had the boldneſs to iſſue an arret againſt Charles VII. and to baniſh him from his kingdom. It began a criminal proceſs againſt Henry III. It always, to the utmoſt of its power, oppoſed its ſovereigns; and in this minority of Lewis XIV. under the moſt mild of governments, and the moſt indulgent of queens, it attempted to raiſe a civil war againſt its prince, after the example of the Engliſh parliament, which at that time kept its king a priſoner, and condemned him to loſe his head. Such was the manner of ſpeaking, and the thoughts of the cabinet!

But the citizens of Paris, and all thoſe connected with the long robe, looked upon the parliament of Paris as an auguſt body, that diſpenſed juſtice with a laudable integrity; that had the good of the ſtate only at heart, which it cheriſhed at the hazard of its own fortune; that confined its ambition to the glory of curbing the aſpiring deſigns of favourites; that preſerved an equal conduct between the prince and the people; and the people without enquiring into the origin of its rights or authority, ſuppoſed it poſſeſſed of the moſt ſacred privileges and indiſputable authority; and when they ſaw it maintaining

taining the public cauſe againſt miniſters whom they hated, gave it the title of, "The father of the ſtate;" and placed a very ſmall difference between the right by which kings hold their crowns, and that which gives the parliament a power to lay a reſtriction upon the wills of kings.

It was impoſſible then to hit upon a medium between theſe two very oppoſite extremes, for in ſhort there was no other fixed law but that of time and circumſtances. Under a vigorous adminiſtration the parliament was nothing; under a weak king it was all-powerful; and that is very applicable that was ſaid by Mr. de Guimene, when this body, in the reign of Lewis XIII. complained of the deputies of the nobleſſe for having taken precedency of it, "Gentlemen, you will have ample revenge in the minority."

We ſhall not repeat in this place all that has been written concerning theſe troubles, nor copy whole volumes to recall to obſervation the numerous circumſtances which were then thought ſo important and dear, and that are now almoſt buried in oblivion; it is our buſineſs to ſpeak of what characteriſes the ſpirit of the nation, and not dwell ſo much upon what relates to the civil wars in general, as to what particularly diſtinguiſhes that of the Fronde, as it was called.

Two powers, which were inſtituted wholly for the maintenance of peace and harmony amongſt mankind, namely, an archbiſhop and a parliament, having begun theſe troubles, the people looked upon themſelves as juſtified in the greateſt extravagancies. The queen could no longer appear abroad without being inſulted in

in the groſſeſt manner; ſhe was called by no other name than that of Dame Anne, or if any other title was added, it was generally an injurious one. The populace reproached her in the moſt virulent terms with her fondneſs for Mazarine; and, what was yet more inſufferable, her ears were filled in all places where ſhe went with ballads and lampoons, the monuments of low ribaldry and malice, which ſeemed calculated to convey a laſting ſuſpicion of her virtue.

She was now obliged to fly from Paris with her children, her miniſter, the duke of Orleans, and even the great Condé himſelf, and to retire to St. Germains, and reduced to pawn the crown-jewels for ſubſiſtence; the king himſelf was frequently in want of neceſſaries, the pages of his bed-chamber were diſmiſſed, becauſe they could no longer be maintained. At that time even Lewis XIV.'s aunt, the daughter of Henry the Great, and conſort to the king of England, who had taken refuge in Paris, after having been expelled her own kingdom, was then reduced to the utmoſt extremities of poverty; and her daughter, who was afterwards married to the brother of Lewis XIV. lay in bed for want of cloaths to keep her warm, while the people of Paris, blinded with their mad rage, paid not the leaſt attention to the ſufferings of ſo many royal perſonages. Jan. 6. 1649.

The queen, with tears in her eyes, beſought the great Condé to protect the young king. The conqueror of Rocroi, Fribourg, Lens, and Nordlingen, could not belie thoſe great ſervices. He found himſelf agreeeably flattered with the honour of defending a court which had

had been ungrateful to his merits, againſt rebels who ſought his aſſiſtance. The parliament then had the great Condé to encounter, and yet dared to carry on the war.

The prince of Conti, brother to the great Condé, who was as jealous of his elder brother as he was incapable of equalling him, the dukes of Longueville, Bouillon, and Beaufort, all animated with the ſame reſtleſs ſpirit as the coadjutor, all fond of novelties, full of the hopes of aggrandiſing themſelves on the ruins of the ſtate, and of making the blind motions of the parliament ſubſervient to their own private intereſts, went in a body and offered their ſervices to that prelate. The high chamber then proceeded to appoint generals for an army which was not yet raiſed. Every one taxed himſelf to raiſe troops. There were twenty counſellors poſſeſſed of new poſts, which had been created by cardinal de Richelieu; their brethren, by a meanneſs of ſpirit of which every ſociety is ſuſceptible, ſeemed to wreak their vengeance againſt the memory of cardinal Richelieu upon them. They gave them a thouſand mortifications, would hardly look upon them as members of the parliament, and obliged each of them to pay fifteen thouſand livres towards the expence of the war, and to purchaſe the forbearance of thoſe of their own body.

The high chancellor, the courts of inqueſts and requeſts, the chamber of accounts, and the court of aids, who had ſo loudly inveighed againſt a trifling and neceſſary tax, which did not exceed an hundred thouſand crowns, now furniſhed a ſum amounting nearly to ten millions of our preſent money, for the ſubverſion of their

their country. Twelve thouſand men were raiſed by an arret of parliament; every houſe with a great gate furniſhed a man and an horſe, from whence this body of horſe got the name of "The Great-gate Cavalry." The coadjutor had a regiment of his own, which was called the Regiment of Corinth, becauſe he was titular archbiſhop of Corinth.

Had it not been for the names of the king of France, the great Condé, and the capital of the kingdom, this war of the Fronde would have been as ridiculous as that of the Barberini; no one knew for what he was in arms. The prince of Condé beſieged five hundred thouſand citizens with eight thouſand ſoldiers. The Pariſians came out into the field dreſt in ribbons and plumes of feathers, and their evolutions were the ſport of the military people; they took to their heels at the ſight of two hundred men of the king's army. All this was made a ſubject of raillery; the regiment of Corinth having been beaten by a ſmall party of the king's troops, this little repulſe was called "The firſt of the Corinthians."

The twenty counſellors who had furniſhed fifteen thouſand livres a piece, had no other diſtinction than that of being called the Twenty Fifteens.

The duke of Beaufort, who was the idol of the people, and the inſtrument made uſe of in ſtirring them up to ſedition, though a popular prince, had but a narrow underſtanding, and was a public object of raillery both with the court and thoſe of his own party. He was never mentioned but by the name of the King of the Mob. The Pariſian troops, after ſallying out

out of the city, and always coming back beaten, were received with peals of laughter. They repaired the repulſes they met with by ſonnets and epigrams; the taverns and brothels were the tents where they held their councils of war, in the midſt of ſinging, laughing, and the moſt diſſolute pleaſures. The general licentiouſneſs was carried to ſuch an height, that one night ſome of the principal officers of the malcontents having met the holy ſacrament, which was carrying through the ſtreets to a ſick perſon whom they ſuſpected of being a Mazarinian, they drove the prieſt back again with the flat of their ſwords.

In ſhort, the coadjutor coming to take his ſeat in parliament as archbiſhop of Paris, the handle of a poinard was ſeen ſticking out of his pocket; upon which ſome one cried out "Behold our archbiſhop's breviary *."

In the midſt of all theſe troubles, the nobility aſſembled in a body at the convent of the Auguſtine friars, appointed ſindics, and held public ſeſſions. It might have been ſuppoſed this was to new-model the government, and convoke the general eſtates, but it was only to ſettle a claim to the tabouret †, which the queen had granted to madam de Pons. Perhaps there never was a ſtronger proof of that levity of mind of which the French were then accuſed.

The civil diſcords under which England groaned at the very ſame time, may ſerve to ſhew the characters of the two nations. There

* A Romiſh prayer-book.

† The tabouret is a ſtool appointed for ladies of the firſt diſtinction at the French court to ſit upon, in preſence of the queen, at her levee.

was

was a gloomy deſperation and a ſort of rational rage in the civil wars of the Engliſh. Every thing was decided by the ſword; ſcaffolds were erected for the vanquiſhed; and their king, who was taken priſoner in a battle, was brought as a culprit before a court of juſtice, examined concerning the abuſe he was ſaid to have made of his power, condemned to loſe his head, and executed in the ſight of all his ſubjects with as much regularity and with the ſame forms of juſtice, as if it had been a private man condemned for a crime; while, during the courſe of theſe dreadful troubles, the city of London was not even for a moment affected with the calamities incident to a civil war.

The French, on the contrary, ran headlong into ſeditions through caprice, and laughing all the time. Women were at the head of factions, and love made and broke cabals. The dutcheſs of Longueville prevailed on Turenne, lately made a marſhal of France, to perſuade the army which he commanded for the king to revolt. Turenne failed of ſucceſs, and quitted like a fugitive the army of which he was general, to pleaſe a woman who made a jeſt of his paſſion. From general to the king of France, he deſcended to be the lieutenant of Don Eſtevan de Gamara, with whom he was defeated at Retel by the king's troops. Every one knows this billet of the marſhal d'Hoquincourt to the dutcheſs of Montbazon: "Peronne belongs to the faireſt of the fair;" and the following verſes, which the duke of Rochefoucault wrote on the dutcheſs of Longueville, when he received a wound by a muſket, at the battle of St. Anthony, by which he was for ſome time deprived at ſight: 1649

Pour meriter ſon cœur, pour plaire à ſes beaux yeux,
J'ai fait la guerre aux rois, & l'aurais faite aux Dieux.

The war ended, and was renewed again at ſeveral different times; and there was not a perſon who had not frequently changed ſides. The prince of Condé, having brought the court back in triumph to Paris, indulged himſelf in the ſatisfaction of deſpiſing thoſe whom he had defended; and thinking the rewards beſtowed on him unequal to his reputation, and the ſervices he had done, he was the firſt to turn Mazarine into ridicule, to brave the queen, and inſult a government which he diſdained. He is ſaid to have wrote in this ſtile to the cardinal, To the moſt illuſtrious ſcoundrel; and that, taking his leave of him one day, he ſaid, Farewell, Mars. He encouraged the marquis of Jarſai to make a declaration of love to the queen, and pretended to be angry that ſhe was affronted with it. He joined with his brother the prince of Conti and the duke of Longueville, who quitted the party of the malcontents. The party formed by the duke of Beaufort at the beginning of the regency had been nicknamed the Self-ſufficients; this of the prince of Condé's was called the faction of the Petits-Maitres, becauſe they wanted to be maſters of the ſtate. There are no other traces left of all theſe terms, except the name of Petit-Maitre, which is now a-days applied to young men of agreeable perſons, but badly educated, and that of Frondeurs, or Grumblers, which is given to thoſe who cenſure the government.

The

The coadjutor, who had declared himſelf an implacable enemy to the adminiſtration, was privately reconciled to the court, in order to obtain a cardinal's hat, and ſacrificed the prince of Condé to the miniſter's reſentment. In a word, this prince, who had defended the ſtate againſt its enemies, and the court againſt the rebels; Condé, at the ſummit of his glory, and who always acted more like the hero than the man of prudence, ſaw himſelf arreſted, together with the prince of Conti and the duke of Longueville. He might have governed the ſtate, if he would only have endeavoured to pleaſe; but he was contented with being admired. The people of Paris, who had made barricadoes for a counſellor-clerk, hardly a degree removed from a fool, made public rejoicings when the hero and defender of France was hurried away to the dungeon of Vincennes.

A year afterwards, the very men, who had ſold the great Condé and the other princes, to the daſtardly revenge of Mazarin, obliged the queen to ſet open the gates of their priſons, and drive her prime miniſter out of the kingdom. Condé now returned amidſt the acclamations of that very people who had ſhewn ſuch hatred to him, and by his preſence occaſioned new cabals and diſſentions.

The kingdom remained for ſome years longer in this tumultuous ſituation. The government, always the dupe to weak and uncertain councils, ſeemed now on the point of ruin; but diſſention, which always prevailed among the rebels, ſaved the court. The coadjutor, who was ſometimes a friend, and at others an enemy to the prince of Condé, ſtirred up a

part of the parliament and people againſt him, and boldly undertook at the ſame time to ſerve the queen by oppoſing this prince, and to inſult her by obliging her to baniſh cardinal Mazarin, who retired to Cologne. The queen, by a contradiction too common to weak adminiſtrations, was obliged at once to accept of his ſervices, to put up with his inſults, and to nominate to the purple this very man, who, when coadjutor, had been the author of the barricadoes, and had obliged the royal family to quit their capital and beſiege it.

CHAP. CLXIX.

Continuation of the CIVIL WAR, till the End of the REBELLION in 1654.

AT length Condé determined upon a war, which he ought to have begun in the time of the rebellion, if he was deſirous of being maſter of the ſtate, or never to have undertaken, if he meant to live as a ſubject. He quits Paris, arms the provinces of Guienne, Poitou, and Anjou, and applies for ſuccours againſt his own country to thoſe Spaniards, of whom he had ſo lately been the moſt dreadful ſcourge.

Nothing can better ſhew the madneſs of theſe times, and the confuſed manner of proceeding, than what then happened to this prince. A courier was ſent to him from Paris, with propoſals for engaging him to return and lay down his arms. The courier by a miſtake, inſtead of going to Angerville where the prince then was,

was, went to Augerville. The letter came too late: Condé declared, that if he had received it ſooner, he would have accepted the propoſals for peace; but ſince he was now at ſuch a diſtance from Paris, it was not worth while to go back. Thus, by the miſtake of a courier, and the mere capriciouſneſs of this prince, France was once more plunged in a civil war.

And now cardinal Mazarin, who while an exile at the farther end of Cologne, had ſtill continued to govern the court, returned back to France rather like a ſovereign who returns to take poſſeſſion of his dominions, than like a miniſter coming to reſume his poſt; he was eſcorted by a ſmall army of ſeven thouſand men, raiſed wholly at his own expence; that is to ſay, with the government's money, which he had appropriated to his own uſe. Dec. 1651

The king, in a declaration at this time, is made to ſay, that the cardinal actually raiſed thoſe troops with his own money; which at once overturns the opinion of thoſe writers who ſay that when he firſt left the kingdom he was very poor. He gave the command of his ſmall army to the marſhal d'Hoquincourt; all the officers wore green ſaſhes, which was the colour of the cardinal's livery. Each party at that time had its particular ſaſh. The king's was white, and the prince of Condé's yellow: it was ſurpriſing that cardinal Mazarin, who had all along affected ſo much humility and modeſty, ſhould have had the arrogance to make a whole army wear his livery, as if he had been of a different party from the king his maſter; but he could not reſiſt this emotion of vanity. The

queen approved of it, and the king, who was then come of age, with his brother, went to meet him.

On the firſt news of his return, Gaſton, duke of Orleans, brother to Lewis XIII. who had inſiſted upon his being baniſhed, began to raiſe troops in Paris without well knowing how he was to employ them. The parliament renewed its arrets, proſcribed Mazarin, and ſet a price upon his head. They were obliged to conſult the regiſters for the price paid for the head of an enemy to the ſtate, and they found that in the reign of Charles IX. the ſum of fifty thouſand crowns had been promiſed by arret to any perſon who ſhould produce admiral Coligny alive or dead. It was therefore very ſeriouſly determined to act according to form, by ſetting the ſame price on the aſſaſſination of a cardinal and prime miniſter. No one however was tempted to gain the fifty thouſand crowns offered by the proſcription, which, after all, would never have been paid. In any other nation, or at any other time, ſuch an arret would have met with perſons to put it in execution; but now it ſerved only to afford new ſubject of raillery. Blot and Marigni, two witty writers, who mingled gaiety with theſe tumults and diſorders, cauſed a paper to be fixed up in the public places of Paris, offering a reward of one hundred and fifty thouſand livres divided into ſhares; ſo much to the perſon who ſhould cut off the cardinal's noſe, ſo much for an ear, ſo much for an eye, and ſo much for the perſon who would make him an eunuch. This raillery was the only effect produced by this proſcription. The cardinal, on his ſide, made no uſe either of

poiſon or aſſaſſination againſt his enemies; and notwithſtanding the rancour and madneſs of ſo many factions, and their hatred, no very great crimes were committed on any ſide. The heads of parties were not inclined to cruelty, nor were the people very furious, for it was not a religious war.

The whimſical ſpirit which prevailed at that time, had taken ſuch thorough poſſeſſion of the body of the parliament of Paris, that having ſolemnly ordered an aſſaſſination which was laughed at, they iſſued an arret, by which a certain number of counſellors were ordered to repair to the frontiers, and take depoſitions againſt the army of cardinal Mazarin, that is to ſay, the king's army.

Two of theſe counſellors had the imprudence to take ſome peaſants with them, and break down the bridges over which the cardinal was to paſs: they were taken priſoners in the attempt by a body of the king's troops, but were releaſed again, without any farther puniſhment than that of being laughed at by all parties.

At the very time that this body was running into theſe extremes againſt the king's miniſter, it declared the prince of Condé guilty of high treaſon, who had taken up arms ſolely to oppoſe this miniſter; and by a ſtrange reverſe of judgment, which nothing but their former actions could render credible, they ordered the freſh troops which had been raiſed by Gaſton, duke of Orleans, to march againſt Mazarin, and at the ſame time prohibited any ſums to be taken out of the public funds to pay them.

Nothing elſe could be expected from a body of magiſtrates, who, thrown quite out of its proper ſphere, ignorant of its own rights and real power, and as little acquainted with ſtate affairs and war, meeting in a tumultuous manner, and paſſing decrees in hurry and confuſion, took meaſures which it had not thought of the day before, and which it was afterwards aſtoniſhed at itſelf.

The parliament of Bourdeaux, which was at that time in the prince of Condé's intereſt, obſerved a more uniform conduct, becauſe, being at a greater diſtance from the court, it was not ſo much agitated by oppoſite factions.

But objects of greater importance now engroſſed the attention of all France.

Condé, in league with the Spaniards, appeared in the field againſt the king; and Turenne, having deſerted thoſe Spaniards with whom he had been defeated at Retel, had juſt made his peace with the court, and commanded the king's army. The finances were already too much drained to allow either of the two parties to keep great armies on foot; but ſmall ones were ſufficient to decide the fate of the kingdom. There are times when an army of one hundred thouſand men is barely ſufficient to take two towns; and there are others in which eight thouſand men may ſubvert or eſtabliſh a throne.

Lewis XIV. who was brought up in adverſity, wandered with his mother, his brother, and cardinal Mazarin, from province to province, with not near ſo many troops to attend his perſon, as he afterwards had in time of peace for his ordinary guard; while an army of five or ſix thouſand men, part ſent from Spain, and

and part raiſed by the prince of Condé, purſued him to the very heart of his kingdom.

The prince of Condé, in the mean time, made quick marches from Bourdeaux to Montauban, taking towns and increaſing his numbers in every place.

All the hopes of the court were centered in marſhal Turenne. The king's army was at Guienne, on the Loire, and the prince of Condé's a few leagues diſtant, under the command of the dukes of Nemours and Beaufort. The miſunderſtanding betwen theſe two generals was near proving fatal to the prince's party. The duke of Beaufort was unfit for the leaſt command. The duke of Nemours paſt for a brave and amiable, rather than a ſkilful general. The army was ruined by them both together. The men, who knew that the great Condé was an hundred leagues diſtant from them, looked upon themſelves as loſt; when, in the middle of the night, a courier preſented himſelf to the main guard, in the foreſt of Orleans: the centinels preſently diſcovered this courier to be the prince himſelf, who had come poſt from Agen, through a thouſand adventures, and always in diſguiſe, to put himſelf at the head of his army.

His preſence did a great deal, and this unforeſeen arrival ſtill more: he knew that men are elated with whatever is ſudden and unexpected; he therefore took immediate advantage of the confidence and boldneſs with which his preſence had inſpired his troops. It was this prince's diſtinguiſhing talent in war to form the boldeſt reſolutions in an inſtant, and to execute them with equal prudence and promptitude.

April 1652 The royal army was divided into two corps; Condé fell upon that which lay at Blenau, under the command of marſhal d'Hoquincourt, which was broke almoſt as ſoon as attacked. Turenne could not receive advice of this. Cardinal Mazarin, ſtruck with a panic, flew to Gien in the midſt of the night, to awaken the king and acquaint him with this news. His little court was ſtruck with conſternation: it was propoſed to ſave the king by flight, and convey him privately to Bourges. The victorious Condé advanced towards Gien, and the fear and deſolation became univerſal. Turenne however quieted the apprehenſions of the people by his ſteadineſs, and ſaved the court by his dexterity. With the few troops he had left, he made ſuch dexterous movements, and ſo well improved his ground and time, that he prevented Condé from proſecuting the advantage he had gained. It was difficult at that time to determine which of theſe two generals had acquired the moſt honour; Condé by the victory he had gained, or Turenne by having ſnatched the fruits of his victory from him. It is certain that in this battle of Blenau, which for a long time continued to be famous in France, there were not above four hundred men killed: nevertheleſs, the prince of Condé was on the point of making himſelf maſter of the whole royal family, and of getting his enemy, the cardinal, into his hands. There could not well be a ſmaller battle, greater concerns depending, or a more preſſing danger.

Condé, who did not flatter himſelf with the notion of ſurpriſing Turenne as he had done Hoquincourt, made his army march to Paris, and

and haſtened to enter that city, and enjoy the glory he had acquired, in the favourable diſpoſitions of a blinded people. The admiration that this laſt action, which was exaggerated in all its circumſtances, had raiſed in all ranks of people, the general hatred to Mazarin, and the name and preſence of the great Condé, ſeemed at firſt to make him abſolute maſter of the capital: but in fact the minds of the people in general were divided, and each party was ſplit into different factions, as is the caſe in all civil troubles. The coadjutor, now become cardinal de Retz, and who had in appearance been reconciled to a court that feared him, and whom he equally diſtruſted, was no longer maſter of the people, nor acted the principal part in theſe tranſactions. He governed the duke of Orleans, and oppoſed Condé. The parliament fluctuated between the court, the duke of Orleans, and the prince; but all ſides joined in crying out againſt Mazarin: every one in private took care of his own concerns. The people were like a ſtormy ocean, whoſe waves were driven at hazard by many contrary winds. The ſhrine of St. Genevieve was carried in proceſſion through Paris to obtain the expulſion of the cardinal miniſter; and the populace did not in the leaſt doubt that the ſaint would perform this miracle in the ſame manner as ſhe grants rain.

Nothing was to be ſeen but negociations between the heads of parties, deputations from the parliament, meetings of the chambers, ſeditions among the people, and ſoldiers all over the country. Guards were mounted even at the gates of convents. The prince had called

in the Spaniards to his aſſiſtance. Charles IV. duke of Lorraine, who had been driven out of his dominions, and who had nothing left but an army of eight thouſand men, which he ſold every year to the Spaniſh king, advanced with this army towards Paris: but cardinal Mazarin offering him more money to return back, than he was to have from the prince of Condé for advancing, the duke ſoon withdrew out of France, after having laid the countries waſte in his march, and carried off a handſome ſum of money from both ſides.

Condé then remained in Paris, where his power was every day growing weaker, and his army dwindling away, while Turenne conducted the king and his court towards the capital. The king, who was then fifteen years old, beheld from the heights of Charonne, the battle of St. Anthony, in which theſe two generals, with an handful of troops, performed ſuch great things, as conſiderably increaſed the reputation of both, which already ſeemed incapable of addition.

The prince of Condé, with a few noblemen of his party, and a ſmall number of ſoldiers, ſuſtained and repelled the efforts of the king's army. The king himſelf, attended by cardinal Mazarin, beheld this fight from a neighbouring eminence. The duke of Orleans, uncertain which ſide to take, kept within his palace of Luxembourg, and cardinal de Retz remained in his archbiſhopric. The parliament waited the iſſue of the battle to enact new decrees. The people, who at that time were equally afraid of the king's troops and the prince's, had ſhut

ſhut the city gates, and would not ſuffer any one to come in or go out, while the moſt noble blood of the kingdom was ſtreaming in the ſuburbs. There it was that the duke of Rochefoucault, who was ſo famous for his courage and wit, received a blow over his eyes, which deprived him of his ſight for ſome time. Nothing was to be ſeen but young noblemen killed or wounded, carrying to St. Anthony's gate, which was kept ſhut. July 1652

At length mademoiſelle, the duke of Orleans' daughter, taking Condé's part, whom her father had not dared to aſſiſt, ordered the gates to be opened for the wounded, and had the boldneſs to fire the cannon of the Baſtile upon the king's troops. The royal army retired. Condé gained only glory; but mademoiſelle ruined herſelf for ever with the king her couſin by this imprudent violence; and cardinal Mazarin, who knew the great deſire ſhe had to eſpouſe a crowned head, obſerved upon this occaſion that, "Thoſe cannon had killed her huſband."

Moſt of our hiſtorians amuſe their readers only with accounts of the battles fought, and the prodigies of valour and politics diſplayed on theſe occaſions; but whoever is acquainted with the ſhameful expedients which were put in practice, the wretchedneſs which was brought upon the people, and the meanneſs to which all ſides were reduced, will look upon the glory of the heroes of theſe times with more pity than admiration; as we may judge from what we find related by Gourville, a man who was devoted to the prince of Condé. This writer acknowledges, that he himſelf, in order to procure money for the prince on a preſſing occa-

ſion, was obliged to rob a receiver's office; and that he went one day and ſeized a director of the poſts in his own houſe, and obliged him to purchaſe his liberty with a ſum of money; he relates all theſe outrages as common occurrences at that time.

After the bloody and indeciſive battle of St. Anthony, the king could neither enter Paris, nor could the prince of Condé think of remaining there much longer. A commotion of the populace, and the deaths of ſeveral citizens, of which he was thought to be the author, had made him hateful in the eyes of the people. Nevertheleſs, he had ſtill a party in the parliament. This body, who had then little to apprehend from the reſentment of a wandering court, driven, as it were, from their capital, being preſſed by the duke of Orleans and the prince's cabals, iſſued an arret declaring the former lieutenant-general of the kingdom, though the king was then of age. This was the ſame title which had been conferred on the duke of Mayenne in the time of the league. The prince of Condé was appointed generaliſſimo of the forces. The court, incenſed at theſe proceedings, ordered the parliament to remove itſelf to Pontoiſe, which ſome few of the counſellors did; ſo that there were now two parliaments, who diſputed each others authority, enacted contradictory decrees, and would by this means have fallen into univerſal contempt, had they not always agreed in demanding the cardinal's expulſion: ſo much was an hatred to that miniſter looked upon at that time as the eſſential duty of a Frenchman.

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At that time all parties were alike weak, and the court was as much ſo as the reſt. They all wanted men and money. Factions were daily encreaſing: the battles which had been fought on both ſides had produced only loſſes and vexations. The court found itſelf obliged once more to give up Mazarin, whom every one accuſed of being the cauſe of theſe troubles, while he was in fact only the pretence. Accordingly he quitted the kingdom a ſecond time; and, as an additional diſgrace, the king was obliged to iſſue a public declaration, by which he baniſhed his miniſter while he commended his ſervices and lamented his exile.

Charles I. of England had lately loſt his head upon a ſcaffold, for having, at the beginning of his troubles, ſacrificed the life of his friend and counſellor, the earl of Strafford, to his parliament's reſentment. On the other hand, Lewis XIV. became the peaceable maſter of his kingdom, by agreeing to the baniſhment of Mazarin. Thus the ſame weakneſs had very different ſucceſſes. The king of England, by giving up his favourite, emboldened a people who delighted in war, and had a hatred to all kings: and Lewis XIV. (or rather the queen-mother) by baniſhing the cardinal, took away all pretence for a revolt from a people who were grown weary of war, and had an affection for the royal character.

No ſooner was the cardinal departed on his way to Bouillon, the place fixed for his new retreat, than the citizens of Paris, of their own accord, ſent deputies to the king to beſeech him to return to his capital, which he accordingly did; and every thing appeared ſo peaceable, that

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it would have been difficult to ſuppoſe that a few days before all had been in confuſion. Gaſton of Orleans, ever unfortunate in his undertakings for want of ſpirit to carry them through, was baniſhed to Blois, where he paſſed the reſt of his days in repentance; and he was the ſecond of the great Henry's ſons who died without glory. Cardinal de Retz, who was perhaps as imprudent as he was bold and aſpiring, was arreſted in the Louvre, and after being carried from priſon to priſon, he for a long time led a wandering life, which at length ended in a retirement, where he acquired virtues which his hgh ſpirit had made him a ſtranger to, amidſt the tumults of his fortune.

Some counſellors of the parliament, who had moſt abuſed their power, payed the forfeit of their faults by baniſhment; the reſt were reſtricted within the proper limits of the magiſterial function; and ſome were encouraged to do their duty by a yearly gratification of five hundred crowns, which was payed them privately by Fouquet, procuror-general, and comptroller of the finances.

In the mean time the prince of Condé, abandoned in France by almoſt all his partizans, and but weakly ſeconded by the Spaniards, ſtill carried on an unſucceſsful war on the frontiers of Champagne. There were ſtill ſome few factions ſubſiſting in Bourdeaux, but they were ſoon quelled.

The calm which the kingdom now enjoyed was owing to the baniſhment of cardinal Mazarin. Yet ſcarcely was he expelled by the general cry of the French nation, and by the royal declaration, than he was recalled by the king,

king, and, to his infinite ſurprize, entered Paris once more in full power, and without the leaſt diſturbance. The king received him as a father, and the people as a maſter. A public entertainment was made for him at the town-houſe, amidſt the acclamations of the citizens: he diſtributed money among the populace on this occaſion; but amidſt all the ſatisfaction he received in this happy change, he is ſaid to have ſhewn a contempt for our levity and inconſtancy. The parliament, who had before ſet a price upon his head as a public robber, now ſent deputies to compliment him; and this very parliament, a ſhort time afterwards, paſſed ſentence of death on the prince of Condé for contumacy; a change common in ſuch times, and which was the more baſe, as by this decree they condemned the very man in whoſe crimes they had been ſo long partakers. March 1653

The cardinal likewiſe, who urged this condemnation of the great Condé, was ſoon afterwards ſeen to give one of his nieces in marriage to the prince of Conti, Condé's brother, a proof that this miniſter's power would ſoon become boundleſs.

CHAP.

CHAP. CLXX.

Condition of FRANCE, till the Death of Cardinal MAZARIN, 1661.

WHILE the ſtate was thus torn in pieces within, it had likewiſe been attacked and weakened from without. All the fruits of the victories of Rocroi, Lens, and Nordlingen, were loſt; the important fortreſs of Dunkirk was retaken by the Spaniards, who had likewiſe driven the French out of Barcelona, and retaken Caſal in Italy. Yet, notwithſtanding the tumults of the civil broils, and the weight of a foreign war, Mazarin had been fortunate enough to conclude the famous peace of Weſtphalia, by which the emperor and the empire ſold the ſovereignty of Alſace to the king and the crown of France, for three millions of livres, (about ſix millions of our preſent money,) to be paid to the archduke by this treaty, which became the baſis of all future treaties. A new electorate was created in favour of the houſe of Bavaria. The rights of all the princes and cities of the empire, and even the privileges of every private gentleman, was ſettled at this peace. The emperor's power was reſtricted within very narrow limits, and the French, in conjunction with the Swedes, became the law-givers of Germany. The glory accruing from hence to France, was in part owing to the Swediſh arms; Guſtavus Adolphus had firſt begun to ſhake the empire. His generals had alſo puſhed their conqueſts pretty far, under the government of his daughter Chriſtina. Her general

1651

1648

general Wrangel was ready to enter into Auſtria, count Koningſmark was maſter of one half of the city of Prague, and was laying ſiege to the other half, when this peace was concluded: and to overwhelm the emperor in this manner, it coſt France only a million a year in ſubſidies to the Swedes.

And indeed the Swedes gained more advantages from this treaty than the French. They had Pomerania, ſeveral fortified places, and a conſiderable ſum of money. They obliged the emperor to deliver into the hands of the Lutherans certain benefices which belonged to the Roman Catholics. The court of Rome ſet up the cry of impiety, and loudly declared that the cauſe of God and religion was betrayed. The Proteſtants boaſted that they had ſanctified the work of peace by ſtripping the Papiſts. Every one ſpeaks as intereſt dictates.

The Spaniſh court did not accede to this peace, and with good reaſon; for ſeeing France overwhelmed with its civil wars, the Spaniſh miniſtry was in hopes of profiting by our diſſentions. The German troops, who were now diſbanded, ſerved as a freſh reinforcement to the Spaniards. The emperor, after the peace of Munſter, ſent thirty thouſand men into Flanders, in the ſpace of four years. This was a manifeſt violation of treaties; but they are ſeldom executed in any other manner.

The miniſters of the court of Madrid had the addreſs in this treaty of Weſtphalia to make a ſeparate peace with the Dutch. The Spaniſh monarchy, in ſhort, thought itſelf happy to have no longer for enemies, and to acknowledge as ſovereigns, thoſe whom they had ſo long treated

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as rebels, unworthy of pardon. Theſe republicans encreaſed their wealth, and ſecured their tranquillity and greatneſs, by thus treating with Spain without breaking with France.

1653 They were ſo powerful, that in a war which they had ſome time afterwards with England, they ſent an hundred ſhips of the line to ſea; and victory long remained doubtful between Blake the Engliſh admiral, and Tromp who commanded the Dutch fleet, who who were both of them at ſea what Condé and Turenne were on ſhore. France had not at that time ten ſhips of fifty guns fit to ſend to ſea; and her navy was every day falling more and more into decay.

Lewis XIV. then ſaw himſelf in 1653 abſolute maſter of the kingdom, which was ſtill affected with the ſhocks it had received; full of diſorder in every branch of the adminiſtration, but abounding in reſources, without any ally, except the duke of Savoy, to aſſiſt it in carrying on an offenſive war, and having no foreign enemies but Spain, which was then in a worſe condition than France itſelf. All the French who had been concerned in the civil war were ſubjected, except the prince of Condé and ſome few of his partizans, of which one or two remained faithful to him thro' friendſhip and gratitude, as the counts de Coligni and Bouteville; and ſome others, becauſe the court would not buy their ſervices at an exorbitant price.

Condé, now made general of the Spaniſh forces, could not recruit a body which he himſelf had weakened by the deſtruction of its infantry, in the battles of Rocroi and Lens. He fought

fought with new troops, of which he was not master, against the veteran regiments of the French, who had learnt to conquer under him, and were now commanded by Turenne.

It was the fortune of Condé and Turenne to be always conquerors when they fought together at the head of the French, and to be beaten when they commanded the Spaniards. Turenne had with great difficulty saved the shattered remains of the Spanish army at the battle of Retel, where, from being general to the king of France, he became lieutenant to Don Estevan de Gamarra.

The prince of Condé met with the same fate before Arras: he and the archduke were besieging that town; Turenne came and besieged them in their camp, forced their lines, and the archduke's troops were put to flight. Condé, with only two regiments of French and Lorrainers, sustained the attack of all Turenne's army; and, while the archduke was flying, he beat marshal Hoquincourt, repulsed marshal de la Ferté, and covered the retreat of the defeated Spaniards. Upon which the Spanish king wrote to him in these terms: "I have heard that all was lost, and that you have saved all."

It is difficult to say by what battles are lost or won; but it is certain that Condé was one of the greatest military geniuses that had ever appeared, and that the archduke and his council refused to do any thing that day which Condé had proposed.

Though the raising the siege of Arras, the forcing the enemy's lines, and putting the archduke to flight, reflected the highest glory on Tu-

Turenne, it was obſerved, that in the letter * written in the king's name to the parliament upon this victory, the whole ſucceſs of the campaign was attributed to cardinal Mazarin, without the leaſt mention made of Turenne's name. The cardinal was actually within a few leagues of Arras with the king. He had even gone into the camp at the ſiege of Stenai, a town which Turenne had taken before he relieved Arras. Several councils of war had been held in the cardinal's preſence: on this he founded his pretenſion to the honour of theſe events; and by this piece of vanity he drew a ridicule upon himſelf, which not all the authority of prime miniſter could efface.

The king was not preſent at the battle of Arras, though he might have been ſo; he had been in the trenches at the ſiege of Stenai; but the cardinal would not ſuffer him any more to hazard a perſon on which the tranquillity of the ſtate, and the power of the miniſter, ſeemed alike to depend.

This war, which was but weakly ſupported, was carried on in their maſters names, on one ſide by Mazarin, who was abſolute maſter of France, and its young monarch; and on the other by don Lewis de Haro, who governed the Spaniſh kingdom under Philip IV. The name of Lewis XIV. was not then known to the world, and the king of Spain had never been ſpoken of. There was no crowned head at that time in Europe who enjoyed any ſhare of perſonal reputation. Queen Chriſtina of Sweden was the only one who governed alone,

* Dated at Vincennes, Sept. 11, 1654.

and

and ſupported the dignity of the throne, which was abandoned, diſgraced, or unknown in other kingdoms.

Charles II. king of England, then a fugitive in France, with his mother and brother, had brought thither his misfortunes and his hopes; a private ſubject had ſubdued England, Scotland, and Ireland. Cromwell, that uſurper ſo worthy of reigning, had prudently taken the title of Protector, and not that of King, as he knew that the Engliſh were acquainted with the extent of the royal prerogative, but did not ſo well know the limits of a protector's authority.

He ſtrengthened his power by knowing when to reſtrain it: he made no attempt upon the rights of the people, of which they were always jealous *; he never quartered ſoldiers upon the city of London, nor impoſed any tax which might occaſion murmurings; he did not offend the public eye with too much pomp; he did not indulge himſelf in any pleaſures; nor did he heap up riches: he took care that juſtice ſhould be obſerved with that ſtern impartiality, which knows no diſtinction between the great and ſmall.

* Cromwell's power was not founded upon the opinion of the people, by whom in general he was deteſted; but upon the ſtrength of a ſtanding army, inured to war, and devoted to his intereſt. All the world knows how he was abhorred by the friends of the church, of the old conſtitution, and the royal family. He was hated by the preſbyterians, whom he had ſhamefully expelled from the parliament, and excluded from all ſhare of his favour; and by aſſuming the protectorſhip, he had incenſed his former friends and inſtruments the independents, who, beſides, were not numerous in the kingdom.

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The brother of Pantaleon Sá, the Portugueſe ambaſſador in England, thinking that he might act as he pleaſed with impunity, becauſe the perſon of his brother was ſacred, had committed an outrage upon ſome citizens of London, and afterwards cauſed ſome to be aſſaſſinated by his own people, in revenge for the oppoſition he had met with from the reſt; for this he was condemned to be hanged. Cromwell, though he had it in his power to ſave him, ſuffered him to be executed, and the next day ſigned a treaty with the ambaſſador.

Never had the trade of England been in ſo free and ſo flouriſhing a condition, nor the ſtate ſo rich. Its victorious fleets made its name reſpected in every ſea, while Mazarin, wholly employed in governing and heaping up riches, ſuffered juſtice, trade, navigation, and even the revenue itſelf, to languiſh and decline in France. As much maſter in France as Cromwell was in England, after a civil war, he might have procured the ſame advantages for the country which he governed, as Cromwell had done for his; but Mazarin was a foreigner, and though of a leſs cruel diſpoſition than Cromwell, wanted his greatneſs of ſoul.

All the nations of Europe, who had neglected an alliance with England during the reigns of James I. and Charles, ſolicited it under Cromwell. Queen Chriſtina * herſelf, though ſhe

* Chriſtina queen of Sweden, was the only child of the great Guſtavus Adolphus, whom ſhe ſucceeded on the throne of Sweden in the year 1633, being then about five years of age; ſhe was a woman of a maſculine genius, well tinctured with learning, and a generous patron of the liberal arts.

ſhe had expreſſed her deteſtation at the murder of Charles I. entered into an alliance with a tyrant whom ſhe eſteemed.

Mazarin and Don Lewis de Haro vied with each other, in exerting their politics to engage the protector in an alliance; and he had for ſome time the ſatisfaction to ſee himſelf courted by the two moſt powerful kingdoms in Chriſtendom *.

The Spaniſh miniſter offered to aſſiſt him to take Calais; Mazarin propoſed to him to beſiege Dunkirk, and to put that place into his hands. Cromwell then had at his option the keys of France and Flanders. He was alſo ſtrongly ſolicited by the great Condé; but he would not enter into a negotiation with a prince who had nothing to depend upon but his name, and who was without a party in France, and without power among the Spaniards.

The protector then determined in favour of France; but without making any particular treaty, or ſharing conqueſts beforehand: he was deſirous to render his uſurpation illuſtri-

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arts. In her diſpoſition ſhe was proud, vain, paſſionate, and capricious. Finding her government and conduct diſagreeable to her ſubjects, ſhe voluntarily abdicated the throne in favour of her kinſman Charles Guſtavus, count-palatine of Deux-Ponts, renounced Lutheraniſm, embraced the Roman-catholic faith, and fixed her reſidence at Rome, in the midſt of the literati, whom ſhe always affected to cultivate. She was treated with great reſpect by the ſovereign pontiffs, and, dying in the year 1689, was interred in the church of St. Peter.

* It was wretched policy in Cromwell to join France againſt the Spaniards; and to this ſtep he is ſaid to have been determined by a very ſingular regard he had for Charles Guſtavus, king of Sweden, who was the ally of France.

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ous by great undertakings. He had formed the deſign of taking America from the Spaniards, but they had timely notice of his intention. His admirals however took the iſland of Jamaica from them, which is ſtill in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, and ſecures their trade in the new world. It was not till after the expedition to Jamaica, that Cromwell ſigned his treaty with the French king; and then no mention was made of Dunkirk. The protector treated with the French king as a prince with his equal, and obliged him to acknowlege his title of potector. His ſecretary ſigned before the French plenipotentiary on the copy of the treaty which remained in England; but he treated as a real ſuperior, when he obliged the French king to compel Charles II. and his brother the duke of York, both grandſons to Henry IV. (and to whom France conſequently owed an aſylum) to quit his dominions.

May, 1655

Nov. 8, 1644

While Mazarin was engaged in this treaty, Charles II. aſked one of his nieces in marriage; but the bad condition of this prince's affairs, which had obliged him to take this ſtep, was the cauſe of his meeting with a refuſal; and the cardinal was even ſuſpected of an intention to marry the very niece, whom he had refuſed to the king of England, to Cromwell's ſon. This however is certain, that when he afterwards found Charles's affairs take a more favourable turn, he was for ſetting this match on foot again; but then he met with a refuſal in his turn.

The mother of theſe two princes, Henrietta of France, daughter of Henry the Great, who was left in France deſtitute of all aſſiſtance, ſaw herſelf

herſelf reduced to beg of the cardinal to intercede with Cromwell, that ſhe might at leaſt receive her jointure. It was certainly the moſt extreme and grievous of all humiliations, to be obliged to ſue for ſubſiſtence to the man who had ſpilt her huſband's blood on a ſcaffold. Mazarin, after ſome few remonſtrances in the queen's favour to the Engliſh court, acquainted her that he had not been able to obtain any thing. She therefore continued in poverty at Paris, and with the ſhame and mortification of having implored Cromwell's pity, while her ſons went into the army commanded by the prince of Condé and Don John of Auſtria, to learn the art of war againſt France, which had abandoned them.

The children of Charles I. thus driven out of France, took refuge in Spain. Upon this the Spaniſh miniſtry loudly inveighed, both by word of mouth and writing, in all courts, and eſpecially at Rome, againſt the cardinal's behaviour, who, they ſaid, had ſacrificed all laws, divine and humane, all honour and religion, to the murderer of a king, and had driven out of France Charles II. and the duke of York, tho' couſins to Lewis XIV. to pleaſe their father's executioner. No other reply was made to theſe outcries of the Spaniards, than the producing the very offers which they themſelves had made to the protector.

The war was ſtill carried on in Flanders with various ſucceſs. Turenne having laid ſiege to Valenciennes, together with the marechal de la Ferté, experienced the ſame reverſe of fortune which had befel Condé before Arras. The

July, 17, 1656 prince, ſeconded at that time by Don John of Auſtria, more worthy of fighting by his ſide than the arch-duke had been, forced the marſhal de la Ferté's lines, took him priſoner, and delivered Valencienne. Turenne then did what Condé had done before in a like defeat. He ſaved the routed army, made head every where againſt the enemy, and in leſs than a month afterwards went and laid ſiege to and took the ſmall town of La Capelle: this was perhaps the firſt time that a defeated army had dared to undertake a ſiege.

This march of Turenne's, which was ſo greatly admired, and after which la Capelle was taken, was eclipſed by a ſtill finer march of Condé's. Turenne had hardly ſat down before Cambrai, when Condé, at the head of two thouſand horſe, penetrated through the army of the beſiegers, and, after having routed every thing that attempted to ſtop him, threw himſelf into the town; where he was received by the citizens on their knees as their deliverer. Thus did theſe two great men diſplay all the power of their military genius in oppoſition to each other. They were equally admired for their retreats, for their victories, for their good conduct, and even for their faults, which they always knew how to repair. By their talents they alternately checked the progreſs of the two monarchies whom they ſerved; but the diſordered ſtate of the finances, both in France and Spain, ſtill proved a great obſtacle to their ſucceſs.

May 30, 1658.

At length France acquired a more diſtinguiſhed ſuperiority, by the league it had made with

with Cromwell. On one hand admiral Blake went and burned the Spaniſh galleons at the Canary iſlands, and thus deprived them of the only treaſures with which they could carry on the war; and, on the other, twenty ſail of Engliſh ſhips blocked up the port of Dunkirk, while ſix thouſand veteran ſoldiers, who had been concerned in the revolution in England, were ſent to reinforce Turenne's army.

And now Dunkirk, the moſt important place of all Flanders was beſieged by land and ſea. The prince of Condé and Don John of Auſtria having aſſembled all their forces, preſented themſelves before the city, to raiſe the ſiege. The eyes of all Europe were attentively fixed on this great event. Cardinal Mazarin carried Lewis XIV. into the neighbourhood of the theatre of war, without ſuffering him to act a part therein, though he was then upwards of twenty years old. The king remained in Calais while his army attacked that of Spain near the Downa, and gained the moſt glorious victory which had been known ſince that of Rocroi. June 14, 1658

The prince of Condé's genius could do nothing that day againſt the ſuperior forces of France and England. The Spaniſh army was deſtroyed, and Dunkirk capitulated ſoon after. The king and his miniſter repaired thither, to ſee the garriſon march out. The cardinal would not permit Lewis XIV. to appear either in the light of a king or a warrior. He had no money to diſtribute among the ſoldiers, and indeed had hardly proper attendants: whenever he went with the army, he uſed to eat at Mazarin's, or at the viſcount Turenne's table.

This neglect of the royal dignity was not the effect of any contempt that Lewis XIV. had for ſhew and parade, but from the bad ſtate of his affairs, and the care taken by the cardinal to arrogate all ſplendor and authority to himſelf.

Lewis took poſſeſſion of Dunkirk only to deliver it up to Lockhart, Cromwell's ambaſſador. Mazarin endeavoured, by ſome fineſſe to elude the treaty, and prevent the place being given up to the Engliſh; but Lockhart's threats and the Engliſh reſolution got the better of Italian cunning.

It has been aſſerted by ſeveral perſons, that the cardinal, who had arrogated to himſelf the affair of Arras, wanted to prevail on Turenne to yield him likewiſe the honour of this battle. Du Bec-Creſpin, count of Moret, was ſent, they ſay, in the miniſter's name, to propoſe to the general to write a letter, by which it might appear that the cardinal himſelf had laid down the whole plan of operations. Turenne received theſe inſinuations with the contempt they deſerved, and would not conſent to avow a thing which would have brought diſgrace on a general, and ridicule on a churchman. Mazarin, after this weakneſs, had that of continuing at enmity with Turenne till the day of his death.

Sept. 13, 1658. Some time after the ſiege of Dunkirk died Cromwell, aged 55 years, in the midſt of the vaſt projects he had formed, for the eſtabliſhment of his own power and the glory of the nation he governed. He had humbled the Dutch, dictated the conditions of a treaty with the Portugueſe, conquered Spain,

Spain, and forced France to ſollicit his protection. Not long before his death, on being informed of the haughty manner in which his admirals behaved at Liſbon, "I am reſolved, ſaid he, to make the Engliſh republic as much reſpected as that of Rome was in former times." It is falſe what ſome writers pretend to tell us, that he played the enthuſiaſt and falſe prophet on his death-bed *; but it is certain, that he died with the ſame intrepidity of ſoul which he had always ſhewn during his lifetime. He was interred like a lawful ſovereign, and left behind him the reputation of a great king, which threw a veil over the crimes of the uſurper.

Sir William Temple pretends that Cromwell deſigned before he died to enter into an alliance with Spain againſt France, and to recover Calais by the help of the Spaniſh arms, as he had got Dunkirk by thoſe of France. Nothing was more agreeable to his character and politics; he would have rendered himſelf the idol of the Engliſh, by thus ſtripping, one after another, two nations whom they equally hated. Death however at once overturned his great deſigns, his tyranny, and the Engliſh greatneſs. It is obſervable, that the court of France went in mourning for Cromwell; and that mademoiſelle, the duke of Orleans' daughter, was the only

* Begging our author's pardon, Cromwell had been an enthuſiaſt from the beginning, and became ſo much of a prophet on his death-bed, that even when the phyſicians deſpaired of his life, "I tell you, (cries he) I ſhall not die of this diſtemper: favourable anſwers have been returned from heaven, not only to my own ſupplications, but likewiſe to thoſe of the godly, who carry on a more intimate correſpondence with the Lord."

perſon who refuſed to pay this mark of reſpect to the memory of the murderer of a king, her relation.

Richard Cromwell ſucceeded his father in the protectorſhip, without any oppoſition, and in the ſame manner as a prince of Wales would have ſucceeded a king of England.

Richard was a proof that the fate of a kingdom frequently depends upon the character of one man. His genius was wholly different from that of his father Oliver; he was poſſeſſed of all the meek virtues which make the good citizen, and had none of that brutal intrepidity which ſacrifices every thing to its own intereſts. He might have preſerved the inheritance which his father had acquired by his labours, if he would have conſented to put to death three or four of the principal officers of the army, who oppoſed his elevation; but he choſe rather to lay down the government than to reign by aſſaſſination, and lived retired, and almoſt unknown, till the age of ninety, in a country of which he had once been the ſovereign. After his quitting the protectorſhip he made a voyage to France, where being one day at Montpelier, the prince of Conti, brother of the great Condé, diſcourſing with him, without knowing who he was, obſerved, "That Oliver Cromwell was a great man, but that his ſon Richard was a poor wretch, not to know how to enjoy the fruits of his father's crimes." This Richard however lived contented, whereas his father had never known what happineſs was.

Some time before, France had ſeen another much more extraordinary example of the contempt of a crown in the famous Chriſtina of Sweden,

Sweden, who came to Paris. Every one admired, that a young princeſs, ſo worthy of reigning, ſhould quit the ſovereign authority for the ſake of leading a life of eaſe and freedom. It is ſhameful in the Proteſtant writers to aſſert, without the leaſt ſhadow of proof, that ſhe reſigned the crown only becauſe ſhe could keep it no longer. She had formed this deſign from the time ſhe was twenty years of age, and had allowed ſeven years to bring it to maturity. A reſolution ſo much above all vulgar conception, and which had been formed for ſuch a length of time, ought to ſtop the mouths of thoſe who reproach her with a levity of diſpoſition, and of having been compelled to this abdication. One of theſe accuſations deſtroys the other: but every thing great and noble is ſure to be attacked by narrow minds.

The extraordinary turn of mind of this princeſs is ſufficiently ſhewn by her letters. In that which ſhe wrote to Chanut, who had formerly been ambaſſador from France at her court, ſhe thus expreſſes herſelf: "I wore the crown without oſtentation, and I reſign it with readineſs: after this you have nothing to fear for me, my happineſs is out of the reach of fortune." She wrote thus to the great Condé: "I think myſelf as much honoured by your eſteem as by the crown I have worn. If after having reſigned that, you ſhall think me leſs deſerving of the other, I will own to you, that the tranquillity I have ſo much deſired, will appear dearly bought; but I ſhall never repent of having purchaſed it at the price of a crown; nor will ever ſully an act which to me appears ſo glorious, by a mean repentance: and

if perchance you ſhould condemn what I have done, I ſhall only tell you in excuſe, that I ſhould never have reſigned the poſſeſſions which Fortune beſtowed on me, had I judged them neceſſary to my happineſs; and ſhould even have aſpired at the ſovereignty of the world, could I have been as certain of ſucceeding or dying in the attempt, as the great Condé would have been."

Such was the ſoul of this extraordinary perſonage, and ſuch her ſtile in our language, which ſhe was but rarely accuſtomed to ſpeak. She underſtood eight different languages; ſhe had been the friend and pupil of Deſcartes, who died in her palace at Stockholm, after having in vain tried to obtain a penſion in France, where his works were even forbidden to be read, on account of the only good things which were in them. She invited into her kingdom all who were capable of bringing any knowledge into it; and the vexation of finding no men of learning among her own ſubjects, had given her a diſlike to reigning over a people who were unacquainted with every thing but arms. She judged it more eligible to live privately among thinking men, than to rule over a people who had neither learning nor genius. She patronized and cultivated all the arts, in a country where they were till her time unknown, and deſigned to make Italy the place of her retreat, where ſhe might indulge herſelf in the midſt of them; and, as they had but juſt begun to make their appearance in France, ſhe only paſſed through that kingdom in her way to Rome, where her inclination determined her to fix her abode; and with this view ſhe quitted the

the Lutheran religion for the Catholic. Equally indifferent to either, ſhe made no ſcruple of outwardly conforming to the ſentiments of a people among whom ſhe was deſirous of paſſing her life. She quitted the throne in 1654, and publickly performed the ceremony of her abjuration at Inſpruck. She was admired at the French court, though ſhe ſurpaſſed all the women there in underſtanding. The king ſaw her, and did her the greateſt honours; but he did not diſcourſe much with her. He had been bred up in ignorance, and his natural good ſenſe made him baſhful.

The only extraordinary thing the ladies and courtiers remarked in this philoſophical queen was, that ſhe did not dreſs after the French faſhion, and that ſhe danced ill. The learned found nothing to condemn in her except the murder of Monaldeſchi *, her maſter of the horſe,

* John marquis de Monaldeſchi was maſter of the horſe to queen Chriſtina, and one of her greateſt favourites; but he abuſed her confidence, and divulged ſome ſecrets that concerned her honour and reputation. Chriſtina, having diſcovered his treachery, condemned him to death while ſhe reſided at the palace of Fontainebleau. One day ſhe ſent for the ſuperior of the fathers Trinitarians, and in the mean time talked as uſual with Monaldeſchi in a gallery. When the father arrived, he was followed into the apartment by the captain of her guards and two ſoldiers. Then Chriſtina produced to the delinquent his own intercepted letters, to prove his infidelity. Having reproached him for his baſeneſs, ſhe deſired the prieſt to diſpoſe him for death. The marquis, who was in the flower of his age, and very unwilling to die, had recourſe to prayers, tears, and intreaties, that his life might be ſpared, even tho' he ſhould be baniſhed from Europe, and live in perpetual exile. The prieſt joined in his intreaties, and even remon-

horſe, whom ſhe cauſed to be aſſaſſinated at Fontainebleau in the ſecond journey ſhe made to France, for ſome fault he had been guilty of towards her. As ſhe had laid down the ſovereign authority, ſhe had no longer a right to do herſelf juſtice. She could no longer be conſidered as a queen who puniſhed a miſdemeanour of ſtate, but as a private woman who ended a love-affair by a murder. This infamous and cruel action ſullied that philoſophy which had made her quit a throne. Had ſhe been in England, ſhe would have been puniſhed; but the court of France winked at this inſult againſt the royal authority, the law of nations, and humanity.

After Cromwell was dead, and his ſon Richard depoſed, England continued for a year in anarchy and confuſion. Charles Guſtavus, to whom queen Chriſtina had reſigned the kingdom of Sweden, made himſelf formidable in the North and in Germany. The emperor Fer-

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ſtrated on the conſequences of her taking ſuch a violent ſtep in a palace belonging to the king of France. She remained inflexible, and withdrew. The father confeſſed Monaldeſchi, and the ſoldiers falling upon him with their ſwords, ſlew him with ſome difficulty; for he wore ſecret armour under his cloaths. Chriſtina cauſed his body to be decently interred, and maſſes to be ſaid for the repoſe of his ſoul. She attempted to juſtify what ſhe had done by alledging, that though ſhe had abdicated the crown, ſhe did not diveſt herſelf of that royalty which authoriſed her to puniſh the treachery of her own domeſtics. This excuſe was not admitted by the French miniſtry, and ſhe was given to underſtand that her preſence was no longer agreeable in France; an intimation in conſequence of which ſhe returned to Rome, where ſhe effected a match between the niece of Monaldeſchi and Matthew de Bourbon, lord of Delmonte.

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dinand died in 1657. His ſon Leopold, who was ſeventeen years old, and was already king of Hungary and Bohemia, had not been choſen king of the Romans during his father's life-time. Mazarin endeavoured to get Lewis XIV. choſen emperor. This was a wild ſcheme; he ought to have compelled or corrupted the electors into his intereſt; but France was not in itſelf ſufficiently powerful to ſeize on the empire, nor rich enough to purchaſe it; conſequently the firſt overtures of this kind made at Frankfort by the marſhal de Grammont and Lionne were laid aſide almoſt as ſoon as propoſed, and Leopold was choſen emperor. All that Mazarin's policy could then effect, was to engage the German princes in a league for ſecuring the obſervance of the treaties of Munſter, and to curb the emperor's authority in the empire.

After the affair of Dunkirk, France became powerful abroad by the reputation of her arms, and the bad condition to which other nations were reduced: but ſhe ſuffered greatly at home; ſhe was exhauſted of money, and in want of peace.

In chriſtian monarchies the ſtate itſelf is ſeldom intereſted in its ſovereign's wars. Mercenary armies, raiſed by the order of a miniſter, and commanded by generals blindly devoted to his will, carry on ſeveral deſtructive campaigns, without the princes in whoſe name they fight having the leaſt expectation or even intention of depriving each other of their whole patrimony. The people of the victorious ſtate reap no advantage from the ſpoils of thoſe who are conquered. They pay all expences, and

are alike ſufferers, whether their country be proſperous or unſucceſsful. Peace therefore is as neceſſary to them, even after the greateſt victory, as if even their enemies were in poſſeſſion of all their frontier places.

There were two things wanting for the cardinal to finiſh his adminiſtration happily, the one was to bring about a peace, and the other to ſecure the tranquility of the nation by marrying the king. The young monarch had been dangerouſly ill after the campaign of Dunkirk, inſomuch that his life was deſpaired of. The cardinal, who knew he was not liked by monſieur the king's brother, had ſome intention, at this dangerous conjuncture, of ſecuring his immenſe riches, and preparing for a retreat. Theſe conſiderations determined him to marry his royal pupil as ſoon as poſſible. Two parties preſented themſelves at that time; the king of Spain's daughter and the princeſs of Savoy. The king's heart however had been previouſly engaged a different way; he was deſperately in love with mademoiſelle de Mancini, one of the cardinal's nieces, and as he was by nature amorous, poſitive in his will, and void of experience, it was not unlikely that in the warmth of his paſſion, he might have determined to marry his favourite miſtreſs.

Madame de Motteville, the queen mother's confidante, whoſe memoirs carry a great air of truth, pretends that Mazarin was tempted to give way to the king's paſſion, and place his niece on the throne. He had already married one of his nieces to the prince of Conti, and a ſecond to the duke of Mercœur; and her whom Lewis XIV was ſo fond of, had been demanded

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in marriage by the king of England *. These were ſo many encouragements to juſtify his ambition. Being one day alone with the queen mother, he artfully took opportunity to ſound her on this ſubject. "I am afraid, ſaid he, that the king has a ſtrong inclination to marry my niece." The queen mother, who knew the cardinal perfectly well, preſently conjectured that he wiſhed what he affected to fear, and with all the haughtineſs of a princeſs of the Auſtrian blood, the daughter, wife, and mother of kings, and full of reſentment againſt a miniſter who ſeemed to have ſhaken off all dependence upon her, ſhe made him this reply: "Was the king himſelf capable of ſuch a meanneſs, I would inſtantly put myſelf, with my ſecond ſon, at the head of the people againſt the king and you."

It is ſaid that Mazarin never forgave the queen for this ſpirited anſwer: but he was wiſe enough to fall in with her ſentiments, and made a merit of oppoſing the king's paſſion; his power did not ſtand in need of a queen of his own blood to ſupport it. He was even apprehenſive of his niece's diſpoſition, and thought he ſhould more effectually ſecure the authority of his place by ſhunning the dangerous glory of too greatly exalting his family.

He had in the year 1656 ſent Lionne into Spain to bring about a peace, and demand the infanta in marriage; but Don Lewis de Haro, ſenſible that weak as Spain was, France was not much ſtronger, had rejected the cardinal's offers. The infanta, who was the child of a

* Charles II. when in exile in France.

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former marriage, was deſtined for young Leopold. The Spaniſh king had at that time only one ſon by his ſecond wife, and this young prince was of ſo infirm a conſtitution, that it was imagined he could hardly live. It was therefore determined that the infanta, who was likely to become heireſs to ſuch large dominions ſhould transfer her claims to the houſe of Auſtria, rather than to the family of an enemy: but Philip IV. having afterwards another ſon, (Don Philip Proſpero) and his queen being again with child, there did not appear ſo much danger in giving the infanta to the French king; beſides, the battle of Dunkirk had made him wiſh for a peace.

The Spaniſh court then promiſed the infanta to Lewis XIV. and deſired a ceſſation of arms. Mazarin and Don Lewis de Haro met on the frontiers of the two kingdoms, in the Iſle of Pheaſants. Notwithſtanding the deſign of their meeting was no leſs than that of ſettling the marriage of the king of France, and a general peace, a whole month was taken up in determining the diſputes which aroſe about precedency, and in adjuſting certain points of ceremony. The cardinals inſiſted upon being equal with kings, and ſuperior to other ſovereign princes. France with more juſtice pretended to the preheminence over all other kings. However, don Lewis de Haro kept up a perfect equality between Mazarin and himſelf, and between the crowns of France and Spain.

The conferences laſted four months, in which don Lewis and Mazarin diſplayed the whole ſtrength of their politics. The cardinal excelled in fineſſe, Don Lewis was remarkable for his

his deliberation. The former never ſpoke but with a double meaning, the latter very ſparingly. The Italian miniſter's talent lay in endeavouring to ſurpriſe; that of the Spaniard, in guarding againſt a ſurpriſe. It is reported that in ſpeaking of the cardinal he ſaid, "There is one great fault in his politics, he is always endeavouring to deceive."

Such is the viciſſitude of human affairs, that there are hardly two articles of this famous treaty of the Pyrenees now ſubſiſting. The French king kept Rouſſillon, which he would always have kept without this peace; but with reſpect to Flanders, the Spaniſh monarchy has now nothing left there. Our court (of France) was at that time neceſſarily in friendſhip with Portugal; we are now no longer ſo; every thing is changed. Though Don Lewis de Haro accuſed cardinal Mazarin of deceit, the world has ſince acknowledged that he had the gift of foreſight. He had for a long time formed the deſign of an alliance between France and Spain, witneſs that famous letter of his which he wrote during the conferences at Munſter. "If his moſt chriſtian majeſty could have the Low Countries and Franche Compté, as a marriage portion with the infanta, in that caſe we might aſpire to the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, notwithſtanding any renunciation made in the infanta's name; neither would it be a very diſtant proſpect, ſeeing that there is only the life of the prince, her brother, to exclude her from it." This prince was Balthazar, who died in 1649.

It is plain that the cardinal was deceived, in ſuppoſing that the court of Spain would give the Low Countries and the Franche Comté

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with the infanta. There was not a ſingle town ſtipulated for a dowry with her; on the contrary, we reſtored ſeveral conſiderable towns to the Spaniſh monarchy, which we had taken from it during the courſe of the war; ſuch as St. Omer, Ypres, Menin, Oudenarde, and ſome other places. The cardinal however was right in ſuppoſing that the renunciation would one day be of no effect; but thoſe who give him the honour of this prediction, ſuppoſe him to have likewiſe foreſeen that prince Balthazar would die in 1649; that afterwards the three children by the ſecond wife, ſhould all die in the cradle; that Charles, the fifth of all theſe male children, ſhould die without iſſue; and that this Auſtrian king ſhould one day make a will in favour of Lewis XIV's. grandſon. But the truth is, that cardinal Mazarin foreſaw what value would be ſet upon a renunciation, in caſe the male iſſue of Philip IV. ſhould all fail; and this was juſtified by a ſeries of extraordinary events, above fifty years afterwards.

The infanta Maria Thereſa, who might have had for her dowry thoſe towns which France by this treaty of marriage was obliged to reſtore, inſtead of that had only five hundred thouſand golden crowns for her fortune: it coſt the king more to go and receive her on the frontiers. However, theſe five hundred thouſand crowns, worth at that time about two millions five hundred thouſand livres, were the ſubject of much altercation between the two miniſters, and at laſt we never received more than one hundred thouſand francs.

So far was this marriage from being of any real preſent advantage, excepting that of peace, that

that the infanta renounced for ever all right or claim to any of her father's territories, and Lewis XIV. ratified this renunciation in the moſt ſolemn manner, and cauſed it to be regiſtered in parliament.

Theſe renunciations, and a portion of five hundred thouſand crowns, ſeemed to be cuſtomary clauſes in the marriage-contracts between the infantas of Spain and the kings of France. Queen Anne of Auſtria, daughter of Philip III. was married to Lewis XIII. on the ſame conditions; and when Iſabella, daughter of our Henry the Great, was married to Philip IV. king of Spain, there were no more than five hundred thouſand crowns agreed upon for a portion with her, and no part of that was ever payed; ſo that there did not ſeem at that time to be any great advantage in theſe grand marriages.

Charles IV. duke of Lorraine, of whom France and Spain had great reaſon to complain, or rather who had great reaſon to complain of them, was included in this treaty; but on the footing of an unfortunate prince, whom they puniſhed becauſe he could not make himſelf feared. France reſtored him his dominions, after diſmantling Nanci, and prohibiting him from keeping any troops. Don Lewis de Haro obliged cardinal Mazarin to procure the prince of Condé's pardon, threatning otherwiſe to beſtow on him the ſovereignty of Rocroi, Chatelet, and other places in which he was in poſſeſſion. Thus France at once gained theſe towns and the great Condé. However, he loſt his poſt of maſter of the houſehold to the king, and returned with little elſe than glory.

Charles

Charles II. the titular king of England, who was ſtill more unfortunate than the duke of Lorraine, came to the Pyrenees, while they were negociating the peace, to implore the aſſiſtance of the cardinal and don Lewis de Haro. He flattered himſelf that their kings, who were his couſin-germans, being now in alliance, would, as Cromwell was no more, have the courage to revenge a cauſe which concerned every crowned head; but he could not even obtain an interview with either of the miniſters. Lockhart, Cromwell's ambaſſador, was at St. John de Luz, and made himſelf ſtill reſpected, notwithſtanding the death of his maſter; and the two miniſters fearing to diſoblige him, refuſed to ſee Charles. They thought it impoſſible that he ſhould ever be reſtored, and were perſuaded that all the Engliſh factions, though at variance among themſelves, would unanimouſly join to exclude for ever the kingly authority; but herein they were both deceived, and fortune a few months afterwards brought about that which theſe miniſters might have had the honour of undertaking. Charles was recalled by the Engliſh, without a ſingle potentate having interfered, either to prevent the murder of the father, or the ſon's reſtoration. He landed at Dover, and was received by twenty thouſand of his ſubjects on their knees. I have been told by ſome old people who were upon the ſpot, that almoſt every one preſent was bathed in tears. There never was perhaps a more affecting ſight, nor a more ſudden revolution. This change was brought about in leſs time than

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the treaty of the Pyrenees took in concluding; and Charles II. was in quiet poſſeſſion of the Engliſh throne before Lewis XIV. was even married by proxy.

And now cardinal Mazarin conducted the king and his new conſort back to Paris. His behaviour on this occaſion was like that of a father who had married his ſon, without allowing him to have the management of his eſtate. This miniſter returned more powerful and more jealous of his authority and dignity than ever. He no longer gave the upper hand to the princes of the blood, in a third place, as formerly; and he who had behaved towards don Lewis de Haro as his equal, attempted to treat the great Condé as his inferior. He now appeared in public with royal pomp, having, beſides his ordinary guard, a company of muſqueteers, the ſame which is now the ſecond company in the king's muſqueteers. There was no longer any acceſs to be had to the royal perſon; and whoſoever was ſo little of a courtier as to apply to the king for any favour, was ſurely ruined. The queen-mother, who had ſo long been this miniſter's firm protectreſs, againſt the whole French nation, ſaw herſelf left without credit, as ſoon as he was no longer in want of her aſſiſtance. The king, her ſon, who had been brought up in a blind ſubmiſſion to this miniſter, was unable to throw off the yoke ſhe had impoſed upon him as well as herſelf: ſhe had a reſpect for her own work, and Lewis XIV. never dared to reign while Mazarin was alive.

A miniſter is excuſeable for the evil he may do when the helm of the government is forced into

into his hands by ſtorms of ſtate; but when there is a calm, he is anſwerable for all the good he does not do. Mazarin did good to no one but himſelf and thoſe related to him: of the eight years of abſolute and undiſturbed authority which he enjoyed, from his laſt return till the day of his death, not one was diſtinguiſhed by any honourable or uſeful eſtabliſhment; for the college of the four nations was erected only in conſequence of his laſt will. He managed the finances like a ſteward whoſe maſter is immerſed in debt.

The king would ſometimes aſk Fouquet for money, who uſed to anſwer, "Sire, there is none in your majeſty's coffers, but my lord cardinal can lend you ſome." Mazarin was worth about two hundred millions, according to the preſent value of money. It is ſaid, in ſeveral memoirs, that he acquired great part of his wealth by means which were beneath the dignity of his poſt; and that he obliged thoſe who fitted out privateers to allow him a ſhare in the profits of their cruizes: this has never been proved; but the Dutch ſuſpected him of ſomething of this nature, a ſuſpicion they would never have entertained of his predeceſſor, cardinal Richelieu.

It is ſaid that he was troubled with ſome ſcruples of conſcience on his death-bed, though he died in appearance with great courage. He was certainly in apprehenſion for his riches, of which he made a full donation to the king, ſuppoſing that his majeſty would reſtore them to him again; in this he judged right, for three days afterwards the king returned him back his deed of gift. Soon afterwards he died, ſeemingly

ingly unregretted by any one but the king, who had already learnt the art of diſſembling. The yoke began to ſit heavy upon his ſhoulders, and he grew impatient to reign; nevertheleſs he thought it prudent to wear the appearance of concern for a death which put him in poſſeſſion of his throne.

Lewis XIV. and his court went into mourning for the cardinal; a very extraordinary mark of honour, and what Henry IV. had paid to the memory of the fair Gabrielle d'Etrees.

We ſhall not undertake in this place to examine whether cardinal Mazarin was a great miniſter or not; we leave his actions to ſpeak for him, and poſterity to judge; but we cannot forbear oppoſing that miſtaken notion, which aſcribes a more than common underſtanding, and an almoſt divine genius, to thoſe who have governed great kingdoms with tolerable ſucceſs. It is not a ſuperior ſhare of penetration that makes ſtateſmen, it is their particular character; all men that have any tolerable degree of underſtanding can nearly diſcern what is their intereſts. A common citizen of Amſterdam, or Berne, knows as much on this head as Sejanus, Ximenes, Buckingham, Richelieu, or Mazarin: but our conduct and our undertakings depend wholly upon the temperament of our ſouls, and our ſucceſſes depend upon fortune.

For example: if one with a genius like that of pope Alexander VI. or his ſon Borgia, had undertaken to reduce Rochelle, he would have invited the principal citizens of the place into his camp, under the ſanction of the moſt ſolemn oaths, and then have murdered them all. Ma-

zarin would have got poſſeſſion of the town two or three years later, by gaining over ſome of the citizens, and ſowing diſſention among the reſt. Don Lewis de Haro would never have hazarded the undertaking. Richelieu, after the example of Alexander, built a mole in the ſea, and entered as a conqueror; but a ſtronger tide than uſual, or a little more diligence on the part of the Engliſh, would have ſaved Rochelle and have made Richelieu paſs for a mad adventurer.

We may judge of a man's character by the nature of his undertakings. We may ſafely affirm that Richelieu's ſoul was full of pride and revenge; that Mazarin was prudent, ſupple, and avaritious; but to know how far a miniſter is a man of underſtanding, we muſt either have frequently heard him diſcourſe, or have read what he has written. That which we every day ſee among courtiers frequently happens amongſt ſtateſmen. He who has the greateſt talents often fails, while he who is of a more patient, reſolute, ſupple, and equable diſpoſition, ſucceeds.

In reading Mazarin's letters, and cardinal de Retz's memoirs, we may eaſily perceive de Retz to have been the ſuperior genius; nevertheleſs, the former attained the ſummit of power, and the latter was baniſhed. In a word, it is a certain truth, that, to be a powerful miniſter, little more is required than a middling underſtanding, good ſenſe, and fortune; but, to be a good miniſter, the prevailing paſſion of the ſoul muſt be a love for the public good; and he is the greateſt ſtateſman who leaves behind him the moſt noble monuments of public utility.

CHAP. CLXXI.

LEWIS XIV. governs alone. He obliges the SPANISH Branch of the Houſe of AUSTRIA to yield him the Precedency every where, and the court of ROME to give him Satisfaction. He purchaſes DUNKIRK, ſends Succours to the EMPEROR, the DUTCH, and the PORTUGUESE, and renders his Kingdom powerful and flouriſhing.

NEVER was a court ſo full of intrigues and expectations as that of France, while cardinal Mazarin lay dying. Thoſe among the women who had any claim to beauty, flattered themſelves with the hopes of governing a young prince, who was only two and twenty years old, and whom love had already influenced to make a tender of his crown to a favourite miſtreſs. The young courtiers imagined that they ſhould eaſily renew the reign of favourites. Every one of the officers of ſtate thought that he ſhould fill the firſt place in the miniſtry, not one of them ſuſpecting that a king, who had been brought up in ſuch an ignorance of ſtate-affairs, would venture to take the burthen of government upon his own ſhoulders. Mazarin had kept the king in a ſtate of nonage as long as he was able, and had not till very lately let him into the myſtery of reigning, and then only becauſe he had inſiſted upon being inſtructed.

They were ſo far from wiſhing to be governed by their ſovereign, that of all thoſe who had been concerned with Mazarin in the adminiſtration,

niſtration, not one applied to the king to know when he would give them an audience; on the contrary, every one aſked him "Whom they were to apply to?" and were not a little ſurprized when Lewis anſwered, "To me;" their aſtoniſhment was ſtill encreaſed, on finding him perſevere. He had for ſome time conſulted his own ſtrength, and made a trial in ſecret of his capacity for reigning. His reſolution once taken, he maintained it to the laſt moment of his life. He appointed every miniſter proper limits to his power, obliging them to give him an account of every thing at certain hours, ſhewing them ſo much confidence as was neceſſary to give a proper weight to their office, and carefully watching over them to prevent their abuſe of it. He began by reſtoring order in the finances, which had been miſerably miſmanaged through a continuance of rapine.

He likewiſe eſtabliſhed a proper diſcipline among the troops. His court was at once magnificent and decent; even the pleaſures appeared there with a degree of luſtre and greatneſs. The arts were all encouraged and employed, to the glory of the king and kingdom.

This is not the place for painting his character in a private life, nor in the domeſtic government of his kingdom: we ſhall reſerve this for a part by itſelf. It is ſufficient to ſay, that the people, who, ſince the death of Henry IV. had never ſeen a true king, and who deteſted the authority of a prime miniſter, were filled with admiration and hope, when they ſaw Lewis XIV. do that, at twenty-two years of age, which Henry did at fifty. Had Henry IV. had a prime miniſter, he would have been loſt,

loſt, becauſe the hatred againſt a private man would have awakened twenty different factions, which would have become too powerful. If Lewis XIII. had not had a miniſter, that prince, whoſe feeble and ſickly conſtitution made his ſoul weak and enervated, would have ſunk beneath the weight of government; Lewis XIV. might or might not have had a prime-miniſter without any danger. There were not the leaſt traces left of the old factions which had diſtracted the ſtate. There was now only a maſter and ſubjects in France; Lewis, at the very beginning, ſhewed that he aſpired after glory, and that he was reſolved to make himſelf reſpected both at home and abroad.

The antient kings of Europe had always pretended to an exact equality with each other; this was very natural: but the kings of France always claimed that precedency which was due to the antiquity of their race and kingdom; and if they yielded place to the emperors, it was becauſe mankind have hardly ever the courage to aboliſh a long eſtabliſhed cuſtom. The head of the German republic, though an elective prince, and has very little power of his own, has undoubtedly the precedency of all kings, in virtue of his title of Cæſar and heir to Charlemagne. His German chancery does not even give the title of majeſty to any other crowned head. The kings of France might diſpute the precedency with the emperors, as France had founded the real weſtern empire, of which the name only ſubſiſts in Germany. They could plead not only the ſuperiority of an hereditary crown over an elective dignity, but the advantage of being deſcended in an uninterrupted

ſucceſſion of ſovereigns, who reigned over a great monarchy ſeveral centuries before that any of thoſe houſes who are now in poſſeſſion of crowns, had attained to the leaſt degree of dignity. However, they were determined to aſſert their right of precedency over all the other potentates of Europe. They alledged in ſupport of their claim the title of Moſt Chriſtian, to which the Spaniſh kings oppoſed theirs of Moſt Catholic; and ſince Charles V. had had a king of France priſoner at Madrid, the Spaniſh pride had made them more tenacious than ever of their rank. The Engliſh and Swedes, who plead none of theſe ſurnames at preſent, acknowledged as little as was poſſible this ſuperiority.

Rome was the place where theſe pretenſions uſed formerly to be canvaſſed; the popes, who diſpoſed of kingdoms by a bull, imagined they had a much greater right to ſettle the rank between crowned heads. This court, where every thing paſſes in ceremony, was the tribunal for trying theſe varieties of greatneſs. France had always had the ſuperiority there when ſhe was more powerful than Spain; but ſince the reign of Charles V. Spain had let ſlip no opportunity of maintaining an equality. The diſpute was left undetermined; the precedency at a proceſſion, or an elbow-chair placed near the altar, or oppoſite to the pulpit, were matters of triumph, and eſtabliſhed titles to that precedency. The chimerical point of honour in theſe articles was at that time carried to as great extremes between crowned heads, as duels were among private perſons.

It

It happened, that at the entry of a Swediſh ambaſſador at London, the count d'Eſtrade, ambaſſador from France, and the baron Watteville, ambaſſador from the court of Spain, diſputed the way. The Spaniard having more money, and a greater train of ſervants, gained the Engliſh populace over to his intereſt, who began to kill the French ambaſſador's coach-horſes, and ſoon afterwards fell upon his people, who being wounded took to their heels, and left the Spaniards to proceed in triumph with their ſwords drawn. 1661

Lewis XIV. being informed of this inſult offered to his ambaſſador, immediately recalled the miniſter he had at Madrid, and ordered the Spaniſh ambaſſador to leave France; broke off the conferences which were then carrying on in Flanders on the ſubject of the limits, and ſent word to his father-in-law Philip IV. that, unleſs he acknowledged the ſuperiority of the French crown, and repaired the affront which had been offered its ambaſſador, by a public ſatisfaction, he would inſtantly renew the war. Philip IV. was not willing to plunge his kingdom again into a freſh war for the ſake of an ambaſſador's precedency: he ſent the count of Fuentes to declare to the king at Fontainebleau, in preſence of all the foreign miniſters who were then in France, "That the Spaniſh miniſters ſhould no longer diſpute the precedency with thoſe of France." This was not clearly acknowledging the king's pre-eminence, but it was a ſufficient avowal of the weakneſs of the Spaniſh court. This court, which ſtill preſerved its haughtineſs, murmured for a long time at its March 14, 1661

humiliation. Since then ſeveral Spaniſh miniſters have renewed their old pretenſions, and actually obtained an equality at Nimeguen; but Lewis XIV. at that time acquired by his reſolution a real ſuperiority in Europe, by convincing all the powers how much he was to be feared.

He had ſcarcely concluded this ſmall affair with ſo much dignity, when he ſhewed ſtill more on an occaſion in which his glory ſeemed not ſo much intereſted. During the long wars carried on againſt the Spaniards in Italy, the behaviour of the young French gentry had inſpired the cautious and jealous Italians with the notion of their being a headſtrong and impetuous people. The Italians looked upon all the nations by whom theirs was over-run as barbarians, and the French as barbarians more gay, but at the ſame time more dangerous than the reſt, as they introduced, into all families where they came, a taſte for pleaſures, with an air of contempt, and debauchery with outrage; in ſhort, they were dreaded every where, and eſpecially at Rome.

The duke de Crequi, the French ambaſſador at the pope's court, had greatly diſpleaſed the people of Rome by his arrogant behaviour: his ſervants, a ſet of people who always carry the faults of their maſters to extremes, committed the ſame diſorders in Rome as the unbridled youth of France did in Paris, who at that time prided themſelves in attacking the city-watch every night.

Some of this nobleman's ſervants took it into their heads to fall ſword in hand upon a party of the Corſi, (who are the city-guard at Rome)

and put them to flight. The whole body of the Corſi, incenſed at this ill uſage, and ſpirited up by Don Mario Chigi, brother to Alexander VII. the reigning pope, who hated the duke of Crequi, went with a multitude of his followers in arms, and beſieged the duke in his own houſe. They even fired upon the ambaſſadreſs' coach, as ſhe was driving into her palace, killed one of her pages, and wounded ſeveral of her other ſervants. Aug. 30, 1661. The duke de Crequi upon this left Rome, loudly accuſing the pope's relation, and even his holineſs himſelf, of having countenanced this inſult and murder. The pope deferred giving him ſatisfaction as long as he poſſibly could, in the perſuaſion that there requires only a little temporiſing with the French, for every thing to be forgotten. At the end of about four months he cauſed one of the Corſican guard, and a Sbirri, to be hanged, and baniſhed the governor of Rome, who was ſuſpected of having authoriſed theſe violent proceedings: but he was in no ſmall conſternation when he learnt that the French king threatened to lay ſiege to Rome; that he had already ordered troops to be tranſported into Italy for that purpoſe; and that the marſhal du Pleſſis-Pralin was appointed general. This affair was become a national quarrel, and the king was determined to ſupport the dignity of his crown. The pope, before he could be brought to make the conceſſions demanded of him, implored the mediation of all the catholic princes, and at the ſame time did all in his power to ſtir them up againſt Lewis XIV. but the ſituation of affairs were at

that time unfavourable for the holy father. The emperor was attacked by the Turks; and Spain was engaged in an unſucceſsful war againſt the Portugueſe.

The court of Rome therefore only irritated the king, without being able to hurt him. The parliament of Provence ſummoned the pope to appear, and ſeized upon his county of Avignon. At any other time ſuch an inſult upon the papal dignity would have been followed by a peal of excommunications from the Vatican, but thoſe arms were now become equally uſeleſs and ridiculous. The holy father found himſelf under the neceſſity of giving way, and was obliged to baniſh his own brother from Rome; to ſend his nephew cardinal Chigi, in character of legate *a latere*, to make the king ſatisfaction; to break the Corſican guard; and to erect a pillar in the city of Rome, with an inſcription expreſſing the injury and reparation.

Cardinal Chigi was the firſt legate, who had ever been ſent from the papal court to aſk pardon. Before that, the legates had always been ſent to give laws, and impoſe the tax of the tenth penny. The king did not content himſelf with accepting theſe temporary ceremonies, in return for an injury offered, nor yet with monuments which are equally ſo, (for ſome years afterwards he permitted this pyramid to be deſtroyed) but he obliged the court of Rome to reſtore Caſtro and Ronciglione to the duke of Parma; to indemnify the duke of Modena for his claims on Commachio; and thus, from an inſult offered him, he derived the ſolid honour of being the protector of the Italian princes.

While

While he thus ſupported his dignity, he forgot not to increaſe his power. The good management of his finances, under Colbert, enabled him to purchaſe Dunkirk and Mardyke of the king of England, for five millions of livres, at twenty ſix livres ten ſous the mark. Charles II. who was a ſpendthrift and a beggar, to his eternal diſgrace ſold this place, which his ſubjects had purchaſed with their blood. Lord chancellor Hyde, who was accuſed of having adviſed or connived at this meanneſs, was baniſhed by the Engliſh parliament, who frequently puniſh the crimes of favourites, and ſometimes even paſs ſentence upon its kings. Oct. 27 1662

Lewis ſet thirty thouſand men to work to fortify Dunkirk both towards land and ſea. A large baſon was dug between the town and the citadel, capable of containing ſeveral men of war; ſo that the Engliſh had hardly ſold this place, when it became the object of their terror. A ſhort time afterwards, the king obliged the duke of Lorraine to give him up the ſtrong hold of Marſal. This unfortunate prince, who, though in ſome reputation as a ſoldier, was of a weak, fickle, and imprudent diſpoſition, had lately made a treaty, by which he gave the dutchy of Lorraine to France after his death, on condition that the king ſhould permit him to raiſe a million upon the territory, which he gave up; and the princes of the blood-royal of Lorraine ſhould take rank as princes of the blood of France. This treaty, which was in vain regiſtered by the parliament of Paris, ſerved only to produce new inſtances of levity on the ſide of the duke, 1663 Aug. 1663

who in the end thought himſelf very happy to give up Marſal, and throw himſelf upon the king's clemency.

Lewis encreaſed his dominions even in peace, and always kept himſelf in readineſs for war, fortifying the frontier towns, augmenting the number of his troops, keeping them well diſciplined, and frequently reviewing them in perſon.

The Turks were then a very formidable people in Europe; they atacked the emperor and the Venetians at one and the ſame time. It has been a maxim in politics with the kings of France ever ſince Francis I. to be in alliance with the Turkiſh emperors, not only on account of the advantage ariſing to their trade, but for the ſake of preventing the houſe of Auſtria from becoming too powerful. However, a Chriſtian king could not well refuſe his aſſiſtance to the emperor, when ſo hard preſſed. It was the intereſt of France that the Turks ſhould raiſe diſturbances in Hungary, but not that they ſhould get poſſeſſion of it; and, laſtly, the treaties in which Lewis was engaged with the empire made this ſtep as indiſpenſible as it was honourable to him.

Lewis then ſent ſix thouſand men into Hungary, under the command of the count of Coligni, the only remaining branch of the family of Coligni, formerly ſo famous in our civil wars, and who perhaps deſerves to be as much renowned as the admiral for his valour and virtuous qualifications. He was ſtrictly connected by friendſhip with the great Condé; and not all the offers of cardinal Mazarin could ever make him fail in what he owed to his friend.

He

He was accompanied by the flower of the French nobility; and, among others, by the young Feuillade, a man of an enterprising disposition, and unquenchable thirst for riches and glory. These went all together into Hungary, to serve under general Montecuculi, who was making head against the Turkish vizir Kiuperli, and who afterwards, when he served against France, counterballanced the reputation of the great Turenne. A great battle was fought at Saint Gothard on the banks of the Raab, between the Imperial and Turkish armies, in which the French performed such prodigies of valour, that the Germans themselves, who were not fond of them, could not help doing them justice. The Germans however are not treated with the same justice by those writers, who pretend to ascribe the honour of the victory wholly to the French. Aug. 1663

The king, while he thus placed his greatness in openly assisting the emperor, and raising the glory of the French arms, made a point of politics in secretly succouring the Portuguese against the king of Spain. Cardinal Mazarin had solemnly given up the cause of Portugal by the Pyrenean treaty; but the Spanish court, having been guilty of several little tacit infractions of that treaty; the French, in their turn, made a more bold and decisive one. Marshal Schomberg, a foreigner and a Huguenot by religion, was sent over to Portugal with four thousand French soldiery, who, under pretence of being in the pay of the Portuguese, were in fact maintained by the French king's money. These French troops, in conjunction with a

June 1664 body of Portugueſe, gained a complete victory over the Spaniſh army at Villa Vicioſa, by which the houſe of Braganza was fixed on the throne of Portugal. Lewis now began to be looked upon as a warlike and politic prince; and Europe ſtood in dread of him even before he had declared war.

By the ſame policy, he eluded the performance of the promiſes he had made, to join the few ſhips he had at that time with the Dutch fleet. He had entered into an alliance with the ſtates-general, in the year 1662, about which time that republic had renewed a war with England, on the vain and idle ſubject of the honour of the flags, and its real claim to a trade in the Indies; Lewis beheld with pleaſure theſe two maritime powers ſending fleets of an hundred ſail every year to deſtroy each other, by the moſt obſtinate fights that had ever been known, which only tended to the weakening of both ſides. One of theſe engagements laſted for three days, and here it was that the Dutch admiral de Ruyter acquired the reputation of being the greateſt ſeaman that had yet appeared. This was the ſame who burnt the fineſt ſhips the Engliſh nation had, even in their own harbours, not above four leagues diſtant from London. He made the Dutch flag triumphant at ſea*, where the Engliſh

June, 11, 12, and 13, anno 1666.

* That the Dutch admirals and De Ruyter in general behaved with great gallantry and conduct in the courſe of this war, is not to be denied; but that the Dutch wreſted the empire of the ſea from England, we cannot allow. In the firſt battle of this war, fought in the year 1665, the

liſh had hitherto always been the maſters, and where Lewis XIV. was as yet nothing.

The empire of the ſea was for ſome time divided between theſe two nations. They were then the only people who rightly under-

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the duke of York gained a complete victory over Opdam and Van Tromp. The ſecond engagement between prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle on one part, and the admirals De Ruyter and Van Tromp on the other, fought in the year 1666, was a drawn battle; after which both ſides claimed the victory, though it muſt be owned that the Engliſh ſuſtained the greateſt loſs. This battle was fought in the beginning of June; and about the end of July, De Ruyter and Van Tromp were defeated by prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle. Admiral Holmes inſulted the coaſt of Holland, burned two ſhips of war, and a great number of merchant ſhips in the river Vlie, and making a deſcent on Schelling, reduced the town of Brandaris to aſhes. With reſpect to the boaſted exploit of burning the Engliſh ſhips in the river Medway, this is a true ſtate of the caſe. The conferences for a peace were already opened at Breda, and the chief articles of the treaty agreed upon. Charles II. looking upon the peace as already concluded, and being deſirous of converting part of the parliamentary ſupply to his own private uſe, ordered the large ſhips to be unrigged, keeping only a ſmall ſquadron in commiſſion. De Ruyter, taking advantage of his ſecurity, ſailed from the Texel with fifty ſhips of the line, ſilenced the ſmall fort at Sheerneſs, broke down a chain drawn acroſs the mouth of the Medway, deſtroyed three guard-ſhips moored within ſide of chain, ſailed up the river to Upnore caſtle, which they eaſily reduced, together with three ſhips of the line, which were ſet on fire. After this exploit, De Ruyter made an unſucceſsful attempt upon Portſmouth, and another upon Plymouth, took ſome merchant ſhips, inſulted the coaſt, and domineered in the channel, till the treaty was concluded. In the ſecond war with the Dutch, the fight of Solebay ended to the diſadvantage of De Ruyter, who retired in the night. The ſecond, third, and fourth were drawn battles.

ſtood

ſtood the art of building ſhips, and employing them either for trade or war. France, during Richelieu's miniſtry, thought herſelf powerful at ſea, becauſe, out of about threeſcore veſſels, which was then the whole of its marine, it had about thirty fit to ſend to ſea, the largeſt of which mounted only ſeventy guns. In Mazarin's adminiſtration, they purchaſed what few ſhips they had from the Dutch. They were in want of ſailors, officers, and manufactories, both for building and fitting out ſhips. The king with incredible diligence ſet about repairing the ruined condition of the marine, and to ſupply his kingdom with all it wanted; but in 1664 and 1665, while the Engliſh and Dutch covered the ocean with near three hundred ſail of large men of war, he had not above fifteen or ſixteen, and thoſe of the ſmalleſt rates, which were employed under the duke of Beaufort againſt the Barbary corſairs; and when the ſtates-general preſſed Lewis XIV. to join his fleet to theirs, there was only one fire-ſhip in Breſt harbour, which it was ſhameful to ſend, till upon their repeated remonſtrances it was at laſt ſent. This was no ſmall diſgrace to the French nation; but Lewis, by his extraordinary vigilance, ſpeedily and effectually removed it.

But he furniſhed the ſtates with much more eſſential and honourable ſuccours by land; he ſent ſix thouſand French to defend them againſt Chriſtopher Gerard Van Galen, biſhop of Munſter, a prelate of a warlike diſpoſition, and implacable in his enmity, who was paid by England to diſtreſs the Dutch; but Lewis made them pay dearly for this aſſiſtance, and behaved towards them

them like a great man in power, who ſells his protection to a body of rich merchants. Colbert made them accountable, not only for the pay of theſe troops, but even for the charges of an embaſſy, which was ſent to England to conclude a peace for them with Charles II. Never were ſuccours given with a worſe grace, nor accepted with leſs thankfulneſs.

The king having thus exerciſed his troops in martial diſcipline, formed a number of good officers by the campaigns in Hungary, Holland, and Portugal, and aſſerted the honour of his name, and made it reſpected at Rome, beheld not a ſingle potentate of whom he had occaſion to ſtand in awe. England, viſited by a plague, which laid waſte the whole kingdom, and London its capital reduced to aſhes by a fatal conflagration, which was falſly charged upon the Roman catholics; the prodigality and continual indigence of Charles II. which proved as fatal to his affairs as the ſcourges of peſtilence and fire; made France perfectly eaſy with reſpect to that nation. The emperor had ſcarcely recovered the loſſes he had ſuffered in the war with the Turk. The Spaniſh king Philip IV. being on the point of death, and his kingdom in as weak a condition as himſelf, Lewis XIV. remained the only powerful and formidable ſovereign in Europe. He was young, rich, well ſerved, blindly obeyed, and burnt with impatience to ſignalize himſelf and to become a conqueror.

CHAP.

CHAP. CLXXII.

The Conqueſt of FLANDERS.

THE king was not long without an opportunity he ſo earneſtly deſired. His father-in-law, Philip IV. died; this prince had by his firſt wife, ſiſter to Lewis XIII. the princeſs Maria-Thereſa, who was married to her couſin, Lewis XIV. by which match the Spaniſh monarchy fell at length into the houſe of Bourbon, which had been ſo long its enemy. By his ſecond marriage, he had Charles II. a weak and unhealthy child, but who lived to inherit his father's crown, being the only ſurviving of three male children, the other two having died in their infancy. Lewis XIV. pretended that Flanders and the Franche-Compté, two provinces belonging to the kingdom of Spain, ought by the laws of thoſe provinces to devolve to his wife, notwithſtanding her former renunciation. Were the cauſes of kings to be tried by the laws of nations, before an impartial tribunal, perhaps this affair might have appeared a little doubtful

Lewis ſubmitted his claims to the examination of his council, and the body of theologians, who declared them indiſputable; but the council and confeſſor of Philip IV's widow, thought them very ill founded. This princeſs had a very powerful argument in her favour; the expreſs law made by Charles V. but Charles V's laws were very little attended to by the court of France.

One of the pretexts made uſe of by the French king's council was, that the five hundred thouſand crowns

crowns which had been granted in dowry with his wife, had never been payed; but they had forgot at the ſame time, that the marriage portion of Henry IV's daughter had likewiſe never been payed. The two courts at firſt waged a paper war with each other, in which the niceſt calculations, and moſt learned arguments were diſplayed on both ſides; but reaſons of ſtate ſilenced all other pleas.

The king confiding more in ſtrength than arguments, marched in perſon into Flanders, as a place he was ſure of conquering, at the head of thirty-five thouſand men; while another body of eight thouſand was diſpatched towards Dunkirk, and a third, conſiſting of four thouſand, to Luxembourg. Turenne had the command of this army, under his majeſty. Colbert had multiplied the reſources of the ſtate, to furniſh the neceſſary expences. Louvois, the new ſecretary at war, had made immenſe preparations for carrying on the campaign, and magazines of all kinds were diſtributed over the frontiers. He was the firſt who introduced the advantageous method of ſupplying the army by magazines, which the weak condition of the government had hitherto rendered impracticable. Whatever place the king choſe to lay ſiege to, or whitherſoever he turned his arms, he was ſure of finding ſupplies and ſubſiſtence ready. The quarters for the troops were all fixed, and their marches regulated. The officers were all kept cloſe to their duty, by the ſtrict diſcipline which this miniſter cauſed to be obſerved amongſt them: and the preſence of a young monarch, who was the idol of his 1667

army,

army, made the ſtrictneſs of their duty light, and even pleaſing to them. The military degree became a right more inviolably obſerved than even that of birth. It was the man's ſervices and not his family that was conſidered; a thing which had hitherto been rarely ſeen. By this means an officer however inconſiderable in point of birth, met with the encouragement due to his merit; and thoſe of the moſt exalted rank had no reaſon for complaint. The infantry, who ſuſtained all the weight of the war, ſince the diſuſe of lances, ſhared with the cavalry in thoſe rewards which they had till then been in ſole poſſeſſion of. Theſe new maxims in the government inſpired every one with a new kind of courage.

The king, aſſiſted by a general and miniſter of equal abilities, both jealous of each other, and ſtriving who ſhould beſt ſerve him, at the head of the beſt troops in Europe, and newly engaged in an alliance with Portugal, with all thoſe advantages attacks an ill defended province of a ruined and diſtracted kingdom. He had only his mother-in-law, Philip IV's widow to deal with, and ſhe a weak woman, whoſe unfortunate adminiſtration left her kingdom defenceleſs. She had made her confeſſor, one father Nitard, a German Jeſuit, prime miniſter, a man as fit for lording it over his penitent, as he was unfit for governing a ſtate, having nothing of the miniſter or the churchman but haughtineſs and ambition. He had the inſolence one day to ſay to the duke of Lerma, even before he came into the adminiſtration, "It is you who ought to ſhew me reſpect, ſince

ſince I have every day your God in my hands, and your queen at my feet." With all this inſolence, ſo contrary to true greatneſs of mind, he ſuffered the treaſury to remain without money, all the fortifications in the kingdom to go to ruin, the harbours to be without ſhipping, and the army without diſcipline, deſtitute of generals, badly payed, and ſtill worſe commanded, in preſence of an enemy who poſſeſſed all the requiſites which Spain wanted.

The art of attacking places was not at the degree of perfection it now is, becauſe that of fortifying and defending them was not ſo well known. The frontiers of Spaniſh Flanders were almoſt deſtitute of fortifications, and even garriſons.

Lewis then had nothing more to do than to preſent himſelf before them. He entered Charleroi as he would Paris: Ath, and Tournai, were taken in two days: Furnes, Armentieres, and Courtrai, made as little reſiſtance. The king entered the trenches before Douai one day, and the next morning it capitulated. July 6 1667 Liſle, which was the fineſt town in that country, and the only one well fortified, and had a garriſon of ſix hundred men, capitulated after nine days ſiege. Aug. 27 The Spaniards had only eight thouſand men to oppoſe a victorious army, and even the rear guard of this ſmall body was cut in pieces by the marquis, afterwards marſhal de Crequi: Aug. 31 the remainder hid itſelf under the walls of Bruſſels and Mons, leaving Lewis to carry on his conqueſts, without ſtriking a blow.

This

This campaign, which was made in the midſt of abundance, and had been attended with ſuch eaſy ſucceſſes, ſeemed a party of pleaſure made by a court. High living, luxury, and pleaſures, were then firſt introduced into our armies, at the ſame time that the ſtricteſt diſcipline likewiſe was eſtabliſhed. The officers performed military duty much more exactly than before; but with every kind of convenience. Marſhal Turenne had for a long time been ſerved only upon iron plates, when in camp. The marquis d'Humieres was the firſt at the ſiege of Arras, in 1658, who was ſerved in plate in the trenches, and had different courſes at his table. But in this campaign of 1667, where a young monarch, who was fond of magnificence, held the moſt brilliant court amidſt the fatigues of the field, every one prided himſelf in ſhewing a taſte for ſplendor, elegant living, dreſs, and equipage. This luxury, the certain mark of riches in a great ſtate, and frequently the cauſe of ruin to a ſmall one, was nothing in compariſon of what has been ſeen ſince. The king, his generals, and miniſters, then went to the rendezvous of the army on horſeback; whereas now, there is not a captain of horſe, nor the ſecretary of a general officer, but has his poſt-chaiſe hung on ſprings, in which he travels with greater eaſe and convenience, than in thoſe days a perſon could make a viſit from one part of Paris to another.

This delicacy in the officers did not hinder them from going into the trenches with their ſteel caps and cuiraſſes: the king himſelf ſet the

the example. This prudent precaution preſerved many a great man. It has been too much neglected ſince by our young people, who are naturally tender and effeminate, though courageous, and who ſeem to dread fatigue more than danger.

The rapidity of the king's conqueſts filled Bruſſels with alarms. The inhabitants already began to remove their effects to Antwerp. All Flanders might have been conquered in a ſingle campaign. The king only wanted a ſufficient number of troops to put into thoſe places which were ready to open their gates at his approach. Louvois adviſed him to put large garriſons into the conquered towns, and to fortify them; and Vauban, one of the many great men and ſurpriſing geniuſes which appeared in this century, for the ſervice of Lewis XIV. was appointed for this purpoſe. He conſtructed the fortifications on a new method of his own, which is now become the ſtandard for all good engineers. It was matter of ſurprize to ſee towns ſurrounded by walls which were almoſt on a level with the neighbouring country. The old lofty and menacing ramparts were only more expoſed by their height to the force of the artillery; but by making them ſloping or ſhelving, they were the leſs liable to this inconvenience. He built the citadel of Liſle on theſe principles. At that time, 1686 the government of a town and its citadel were among the French always veſted in the ſame perſon; but now an innovation was made in favour of Vauban, who was the firſt governor of a citadel: and here we may obſerve

ſerve, that the firſt of thoſe plans in relievo, which are to be ſeen in the gallery of the Louvre, is that of the fortifications of Liſle.

The king now haſtened back to Paris to enjoy the acclamations of his people, the adorations of his courtiers and miſtreſſes, and partake of the ſplendid entertainments which he gave to his court.

END of the SIXTH VOLUME.